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Ancient Israel and Persia/Iran from

CENTRAL AND EASTERN ASIA IN ANTIQUITY

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BOOK I.

ISRAEL AND THE ASSYRO-BABYLONIAN EMPIRES.

ISRAEL AND THE ASSYRO-BABYLONIAN EMPIRES.

CHAPTER I.

ISRAEL UNTIL THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE DAVIDIC KINGDOM.

By Rev. Professor P. H. Steenstra, D.D.

THE sources for the early history of Israel are found exclusively in the Old Testament, but in such a shape that they can be properly used only under the guidance of critical investigations into their origin, age, and combination. The general results of these investigations will be noted in another place (Chapter. VI. below), but are here presupposed.

Israel, like every other ancient nation, has its legendary age, antedating the historical era. The latter may be said to begin with Moses and the Exodus. The terms must be taken in a mutually comparative sense; and it is not a line, but a very broad strip of border-land, that intervenes between the strictly legendary and historical regions. Ancient history is never entirely free from legend, just as the legendary age takes over elements from the still earlier myth-making period.

Israelitish tradition uniformly regards Aram Naharaim (or Nahrina, the Mesopotamia of the English Bible) as the abode of the nation's ancestors prior to their westward migration. The name, 'Aram of the two rivers,' denotes (at least in this connection) the region between the Euphrates and the Chaboras, a tributary flowing into the Euphrates from the east. In some of its forms, however, tradition represents their stay here as a temporary break in their movement toward Canaan, and names Ur of the Chaldees as the place of their original departure. Assyriologists generally connect

[1] Chapters I, II., and VI., written by Rev. Professor P. H. Steenstra, of the Protestant Episcopal Theological School, at Cambridge, Mass., replace material by the author of this volume.

this Ur with an ancient Babylonian city named Uru, the site of which has been identified with the mound Mugheir, though it should be added that until actual excavations shall have been conducted at the mound in question, the identification cannot be regarded as certain. The traditions, however, that connect the early migrations of the Hebrews with a temporary sojourn in southern Babylonia may reflect merely the general consciousness of the settlement of Palestine through Aramaeans passing from Arabia northward through the Euphrates Valley to Aram Naharaim and thence crossing over into the Jordan Valley.

The Israelites threw all primitive history, or what they believed to be such, into the form of family narratives, each of which was woven about the person of an assumed individual, who was regarded as the father of the family, and whose name was usually derived from that of the clan which he was made to represent. In accordance with this, the migration of Israel's ancestors from Aram Naharaim is described in our sources as that of the head of a family, accompanied by his nephew, who likewise enjoys the same dignity; but it must be conceived by us as the movement of a tribe,—not very numerous, however,—participated in by another of kindred people. Whether in this instance the names of the assumed fathers, Abraham (or Abram) and Lot, conform to the rule and are wholly supposititious, can hardly be determined. Both, if ever tribe names, were supplanted by others. In either case, it is not improbable that Abraham at least represents an individual as well as a tribe; that as such he was prominent in a migratory movement which must be regarded as typical of movements of nomadic hordes that were frequently if not constantly taking place during the third millennium before our era. While there may have been special circumstances connected with the Abrahamic migration, it must be regarded as one of many similar westward movements of Semitic tribes, the common aim of which was to secure better conditions in the struggle for existence. The particular direction taken by these migrations was necessarily controlled by opportunities. To nomads, not averse to reaping where they had not sown, Canaan, rich in pasture lands that at the time of the Abrahamic migration already contained a considerable agricultural population, divided into numerous independent tribes and petty kingdoms, offered many advantages. Of these the Abrahamites determined to avail themselves.

Passing over the time of this first sojourn in Canaan, the next great movement in the early history of Israel carries us to Egypt. The utter silence of the Egyptian monuments concerning the Hebrews is not so strange as it is sometimes thought to be. The Hebrews were few and unimportant at their coming; and the circumstances of their departure were not flattering to Egyptian pride. It is sufficient that we find notices of the coming of nomadic hordes into Egypt at various times, and who are described and depicted in a manner as to leave no doubt of their being Semites. Moreover, we now know from the Tel-el-Amarna cuneiform tablets that in the fifteenth century B.C. the Egyptian rulers used the nomadic groups of Syria and Palestine as allies to maintain their control of these districts. Among these groups we find frequent mention made of the Chabiri (or Habiri) in southern Palestine, whose name properly means 'confederates,' and who appear to be none other than the Hebrews. In view of this contact, it would be quite natural for some subdivisions of this group to be attracted to pass on in their wanderings into the rich valley of the Nile. However this may be, Egyptian silence is at all events more than offset by the never-faltering recollection of the Israelites themselves, that their ancestors came to Egypt and were reduced to bondage there—forced to labor under the taskmaster's rod. No people invents history that humiliates itself. But as to details we are less fortunate. The initial events are, as usual, dressed up in the Old Testament in the guise of family occurrences. We may translate the narratives in some such way as this: An Israelite tribe, named Joseph, separates itself from its fellows, perhaps in consequence of tribal jealousies and treacheries, and turns its face toward Egypt. For some reason, perhaps because capable of serving as a frontier guard against other desert tribes, the Josephites find favor, and gain a firm footing in the country. Generous in prosperity, the fortunate tribe forgets its wrongs, and in time procures admission for other subdivisions of the group, though it does not follow that all these tribes included later in the confederation of the Bene Israel passed into Egypt. Goshen, without permitting any considerable abatement of self-reliance and warlike spirit, probably afforded them greater ease and abundance than they had ever before enjoyed. How long this happy condition continued we do not know. A change of policy toward them was inevitable. An independent people, however

small its number, clinging to its own institutions and language, prosperous, fecund, and of warlike capacity, could not be permanently tolerated within the national territory, and the time came when the Egyptian rulers found themselves strong enough to force the foreigners into a state of subjection. The 'servitude' which thus began may not at first have been more severe than that which formerly was and still might be imposed upon the native population; but it was ultimately carried to a greater degree of severity, probably because of resistance encountered; and it was incomparably more galling to the proud nomad, who would brook no master, and looked down with contempt on any kind of steady toil.

Deliverance came through Moses. This fact no sober-minded historical critic doubts. The Exodus requires a great leader. We should have to assume one were none named. But just how Moses was raised up and accomplished his great task, it is not easy to determine. The ravishing story was in every mouth for centuries before any of the extant accounts of it were written, and could not fail to gather legendary elements, while many important but popularly less attractive facts were forgotten. The divine character of the deliverance was so strongly impressed on the popular consciousness, that it lifted the whole into the region of the supernatural, and so lost sight of ordinary cause and effect. The name of the Pharaoh of the Exodus is not given in the Pentateuch. While some are inclined to identify him with Amenophis IV. (c. 1400 B.C.), most scholars identify him with Mineptah (or Merneptah), and place the Exodus about 1250 B.C.[1] Rameses II., the predecessor of Mineptah, was an indefatigable builder, during whose long reign the oppression of the Hebrews, if not begun, probably reached its greatest severity. It is important to note that Moses, though according to tradition born and reared in Egypt, comes from the wilderness around Sinai to deliver his people from Egyptian subjection, and when the native Egyptian historian Manetho, priest and temple-scribe of the third century B.C., in an otherwise greatly distorted account of the Exodus, says that the leader and lawgiver of the multitude, whom he designates as a priest of Heliopolis by the name of Osarsiph, sent

[1] See a recent monograph by W. Spiegelberg, *Der Aufenthalt Israels in Aegypten*, Strassburg, 1904.

emissaries to Jerusalem, to the shepherds expelled by Tethmosis (Thothmes), to enlist aid against the Egyptians, he seems to give an Egyptian reminiscence of the sojourn of Moses with the tribe of Jethro in the Sinaitic desert prior to the Exodus. There must have been frequent intercourse between the nomads of Goshen and those of the adjacent desert, and it would appear therefore that the Exodus was the result of a concerted movement on the part of the nomads of the wilderness coming to the rescue of their kin in Egypt. The undertaking, however accomplished, was no small one. Not the least of its many difficulties was the resuscitation of the prostrate people, upon whom oppression had done its work but too well, and however obscure the career of Moses may be, owing to the strong admixture of legend and even of myth in the accounts of him embodied in the historical documents within the present Pentateuch, there can be no doubt that he was the creator of the Hebrew nation. The first great and immediate result attained by Moses was the Exodus. Scarcely any fact of Israelite history is more certain than this, though the details and special circumstances are hopelessly obscure. Nor is there any reason to doubt the passage over the shallows of the Gulf of Suez, laid bare by the combined action of wind and tide, or that a terrible catastrophe there befell the pursuing Egyptians. The latter explains what otherwise would be almost incredible, that notwithstanding Pharaoh's unwillingness to permit the people's departure, no efforts were made to recapture them in the region of Sinai, long familiar ground to the Egyptians. The only foe met there was the Amalekite, who struck fiercely for the scanty pasture grounds of which he claimed possession.

Arrived at the 'mount of Jahveh' (called Sinai in two of the sources, Horeb in two others), the work of Moses entered on a new phase, combining the functions of organiser, legislator, and prophet. The latter was fundamental and all-pervasive. The one thing needed above all others was a uniting principle strong enough to maintain itself, and to give sanction to all subordinate enactments. The ordinary tribal organization, probably not much impaired in Egypt, naturally resumed full sway in the desert, and with it all its inherent centrifugal tendencies. Moreover, a 'mixed multitude' composed of divers nationalities, — Egyptians, remnants of the

Hyksos, fragments of other non-Israelite Semitic tribes (?) — had joined in the Exodus. The desert itself furnished accessions from the tribe of the Kenites, and possibly others. All these elements must be incorporated into one body of people. Now, the only possible principle of unity in antiquity, especially among the Semites, was religion. Without a common religion, neither constitutions nor federations could endure. Semitic peoples were essentially theocracies. The god of the tribe or nation was its supreme ruler. All other authorities, whether kings, judges, elders, were only his representatives. Hence the promulgation, at Sinai, of the Ten Commandments, in a much shorter form, however, than either of the present versions given in the Pentateuch, was the fundamental prophetic art by which both the Israelitish nation and its religion were brought into being. Its keynote is found in the words, "I am Jahveh,[1] thy God," by which the divine speaker announces himself, and sets aside, so far as his audience is concerned, all other gods of whatsoever name. Much teaching and explanation must have preceded the solemn proclamation of this brief but pregnant code, of which no record remains. The people accepted it as the word of the god, who, by liberating, had made them his own possession, and was therefore justly entitled to their homage and obedience. In a solemn sacrificial rite they ratified their acceptance, and entered into a covenant with Jahveh. The memory of this covenant-making never died out. It exerted a mighty influence through all the people's after history.

The covenant base, or fundamental law, probably comprehended, besides the Ten Commandments, a very concise body of civil and religious determinations, 'judgments,' contained in what was called, at least in later days, 'the Book of the Covenant.' The exact contents of this document can only be conjectured. Neither of the two presentations of it — the one in Ex. xx. 22 – xxiii. 33, the other, much shorter and less comprehensive, in Ex. xxxiv. 11–26 — can be regarded as properly and purely Mosaic. No error inherited from uncritical antiquity has been so prolific of misapprehension and difficulty to the student of Israelitish history as that which ascribed

[1] Pronounce *Yahveh*. The Old-Testament text represents the name by four vowelless consonants, JHVH. The form Jehovah is a combination of these consonants with the vowels of the Hebrew word for Lord. It is certainly wrong.

the whole mass of Pentateuch legislation to Moses. The slowly matured discovery by critics of the manner in which the Pentateuch and historical books of the Old Testament grew into their present shape, — of which something more in a subsequent chapter, — while it has in no degree lessened the evidence of special divine purpose and direction in the history of Israel, has made it much more lucid and intelligible. Israelitish law was as much the ever-growing product of time as that of any other people. Its ritual side especially, which constitutes so large a part of it, and which, because of its connection with religion, has been considered pre-eminently Mosaic, was subject to all the influences which control and modify forms of worship always and everywhere. Moses, nevertheless, remains the great legislator of his people in so far as he determines the character of all subsequent legislation. Probably not many enactments owed their first form to him. Back of him lay a considerable body of consuetudinary law, which, when necessary, he simply adapted to altered circumstances. But the spirit that during his long leadership informed his administration of law, and controlled the creation of precedent or custom having the force of new law, exerted its salutary influence forever after. But stronger and higher than any personal influence was the religion of which he was the prophet, and which had in it the indestructible principle of ever unfolding life and stimulus for all forms of thought and action.

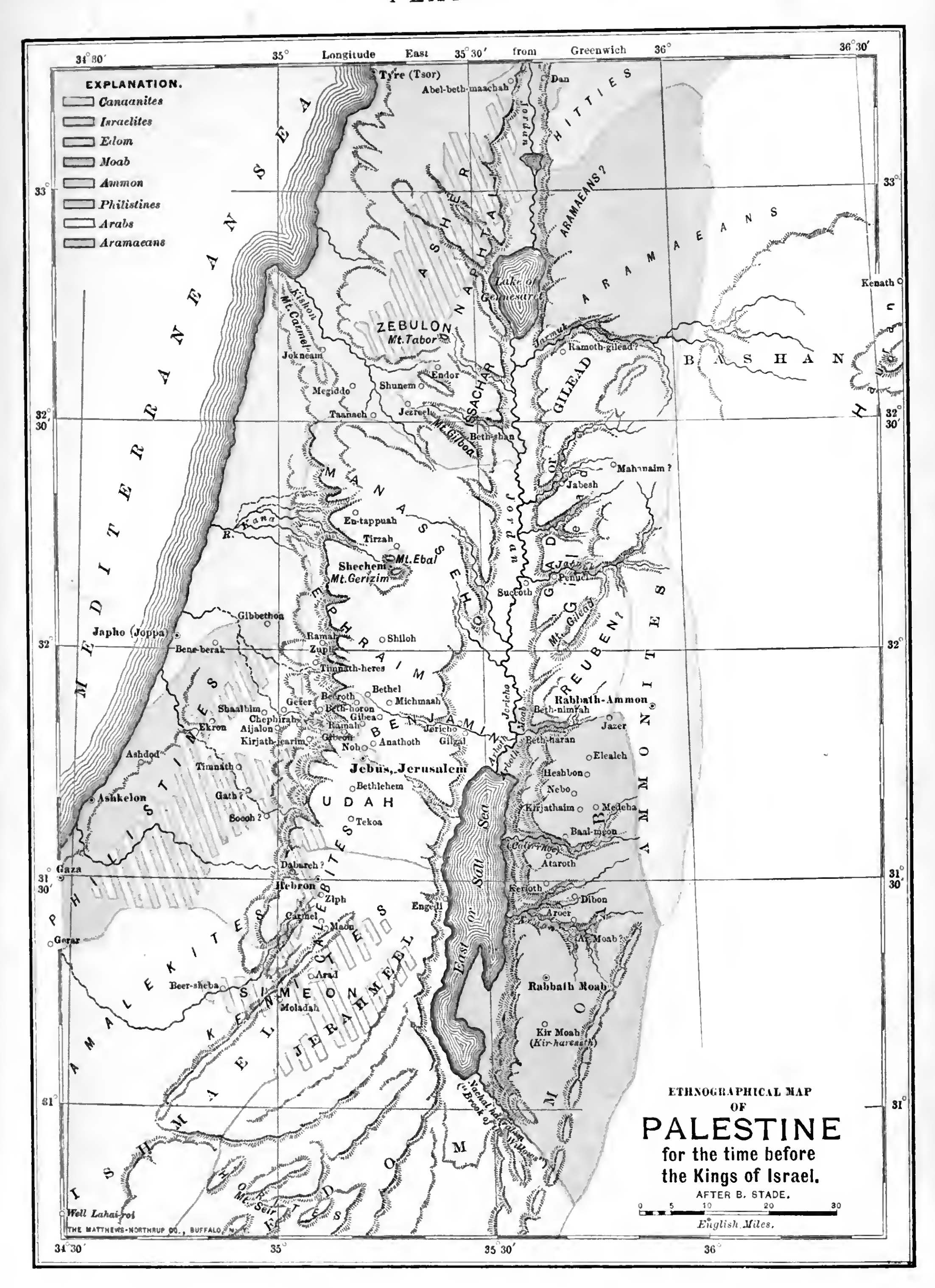
This brings us to a topic on which present opinions widely differ: What was this religion of Moses? and where did he get it? Many deny that it was monotheism in the proper sense of the word; they regard it as national henotheism, or monolatry, not denying the existence of other gods than Jahveh, but prohibiting their worship by Israel. The rise of monotheism is attributed to the age and teaching of the great prophets. It cannot be said that this opinion is destitute of reasonable grounds, but the weight of evidence is against it. If the Mosaic Jahvism was, after all, nothing but an old form of Semitic religion under a new name, how are we to explain the immense difference between its vital power of development and the stagnation that characterized its congeners as long as they continued to exist? And if the prophets introduced monotheism, how is it that not one of them betrays consciousness of the fact? They

tacitly assume that they contend for the nation's ancient faith; and among the people whom they accuse of infidelity and apostasy, none rise up to tell them that they are innovators, and that those whom they condemn adhere to the old paths. The antiquity of the name Jahveh no one seriously disputes. Its use dates from the time of Moses; and granting that it was borrowed by him from the Midianites settled around Mt. Sinai, or from Kenites or some other source, he invested the name with a character that gave it all the force of an original conception, which is illustrated in the interpretation given to the name as 'He who is' or 'He who causes to be,'—i. e., creates. The tendency at all events toward a monotheistic conception of the government of the universe must be dated from the days of Moses, though naturally such a conception was slow in attaining possession of all classes of the people. To multitudes the distinction between one only God and one national God was practically a distinction without a difference. Its importance could be appreciated only by the few capable of sustained thought and reflection. Moses himself must not be supposed to have conceived this truth in the fulness of its philosophic elaboration. Ingrained habits and affections, long current forms of speech, all combined to keep alive more primitive views, and we must pass down at least five centuries before we reach the age of genuine monotheism among the Hebrews.

Tradition assigns a duration of forty years to the sojourn in the wilderness. Though a round number, this is probably not far out of the way. It was a period that offered few attractions to retrospection, abounding in jealousies, rebellions, defeats, pusillanimity, want, and woe; hence touched on but lightly by tradition. Soon after leaving Sinai the people demonstrated their unfitness for bold enterprises. The report of spies sent out to gather information concerning the land west of the Jordan and its populations dashed their courage. The generation that left Egypt must pass away, and a new one, nurtured in the hardy freedom of the desert, rise up, before serious attempts could be made to reach the desired goal. During most of this time Kadesh, a desert station near the southern confines of Palestine, was probably the place of the central encampment, while their herds and flocks roamed far and wide for pasturage. When at last they left Kadesh, they made their way to the country east of the

26a

PLATE I.



Map.—Palestine for the period before the Kings of Israel.

(After B. Stade.)

History of All Nations, Vol. II., page 27.

Jordan. (PLATE I., Map of Palestine, should be consulted,) There they were attacked by Sihon, an Amorite king, whose capital was Heshbon. Him they overthrew, thereby making their first territorial acquisition, consisting of the land between the Arnon and the Jabbok, and touching that of the Ammonites on the east. Part of it had formerly belonged to Moab, from whom Sihon had wrested it; the whole of it afterwards formed the possessions of Reuben and Gad. The battle with Og, king of Bashan, whose domain extended from the Jabbok to Mount Hermon, though mentioned only by later writers, is under the circumstances sufficiently probable. In this region, part of the tribe Manasseh afterwards had its seat. The trans-Jordanic country, or at least a good part of it, was thus in possession, and afforded solid vantage-ground for further acquisitions. Here Moses died, and Joshua assumed the leadership. The narrative of operations in Canaan proper, as given in the Book of Joshua, is not self-consistent, and betrays its late composition in many ways. It contains, however, excerpts from earlier writings, which, together with similar fragments in Judges, furnish an outline of leading facts. From Shittim (' the acacias '), in the plains, or rather steppes, of Moab, where they had been long encamped, the Israelites crossed the Jordan at the ford now called El-Helu, opposite Jericho, and took up quarters at Gilgal. After taking Jericho and destroying it, they divided into two bodies. Ephraim and the other northern tribes, under the leadership of Joshua, took and destroyed Ai and Bethel. No doubt they proceeded farther northward, but their farther course is not related. Joshua returned to Gilgal, where the noncombatants had remained encamped. Meanwhile Judah, and the tribes or clans co-operating with it, gained possession of considerable territory, chiefly in the far south. Two great battles were fought by Joshua after his return to Gilgal, — one at Gibeon, not far from Jerusalem, the other by the 'waters of Merom,' (Lake Huleh), in the north. Both were waged against coalitions of Canaanite kings; one of them aimed, in the first instance, at the Gibeonites, who had artfully secured a league of friendship with Israel; the other directly at the Israelites themselves. The accounts of them present many difficulties, but the main facts are not to be doubted. The Canaanites seem to have had little aptitude or liking for political organization

and union. Ordinarily each petty king stood alone. This circumstance greatly facilitated Israel's success. But it would have been surprising if this success had not in time produced combinations against them. The conquest, however, was far from complete. It was confined to the central mountain ridge, where the Canaanites could not profit by their superior military skill and arms. In many places it procured little more than a lodgment for Israel. Peaceable, mutually tolerant if not always friendly co-occupations, in which the vigorous younger race slowly subjugated or absorbed the older, weakened by vicious tendencies in its civilization, effected in the course of centuries what armed force could not attain. Nor can this be considered altogether a misfortune. In agriculture, commerce, the arts, manner of living, in every sphere save religion and morals, the Canaanites were greatly superior, and much needed by Israel as teachers.

The time intervening between Joshua and King Saul is somewhat inappropriately known as the period of the Judges. In the great uncertainty of Israelitish chronology until the Assyrian age, it is impossible to ascertain definitely the length of this period; but it may have been two hundred and fifty years or more. Only its general features are clear; the sequence of events must be left undetermined. The settlement of the people, so far from completed when Joshua died, was continued into this period. An instance illustrative of the process is related concerning Dan. This tribe, clinging precariously to the western slopes of the mountains of Ephraim and Judah, went forth or despatched a colony, in search of a better site northward. On their way through Ephraim these people rob one Micah of his Jahveh image and priest. Proceeding, they surprise a peaceable mercantile settlement of Phoenicians in Laish, near the middle source of the Jordan, and found the well-known Dan of the Old Testament and its famous sanctuary. Another instance is that of Jair, accounted one of the 'Judges,' who made himself master of a district of northern Gilead (Judges x. 3 ff.; Num. xxxii. 41). These exploits are to be regarded as specimens of many similar ones concerning which no information has come down. On the other hand, the Israelites were by no means permitted to enjoy in peace what they had already seized. The Canaanites were ever on the

alert to recover lost ground. An account of the failure of one of the most promising of their attempts is contained in the very old Song of Deborah (Judges v.; cf. also chapter iv., which, however, deviates in important particulars). Sisera and other kings of northern Canaan harassed and oppressed the Israelites as far south as Ephraim. The effects are vividly portrayed in the Song. The open country was abandoned. The highways were deserted; intercourse was carried on by stealth through byways. The spirit of resistance itself was broken — shield and spear had come to be considered useless. Israel's destruction was swiftly approaching, when Deborah, a 'wise woman,' or soothsayer, inflamed with patriotic fervor and zeal for Jahveh, and full of faith and courage, sounded a call to arms. Troops from six tribes, evidently wanting but a leader, hastened to respond, and took the field under Barak, her chosen general. A decisive battle fought in the valley of the Kishon against overwhelming military odds, but aided by the storm and floods of the God of Sinai, destroyed the Canaanite army. Sisera himself was slain by Jael, a woman of a Kenite clan whom weakness had forced into a league of peace with the Canaanites. From that time the Canaanites, wherever they retained a foothold, — and the places where they did not were probably exceptions rather than the rule, — were content to dwell side by side with Israel, here as equals, there as masters, yonder as subjects, but always in process of coalescing with them. Other foes, however, remained, less easily dealt with, the most distant of whom we read is Chushanrishathaim, king of Aramaea, who is said to have put Judah to tribute for some years. The Moabites probably did not wait long after the passage over the Jordan before they repossessed themselves of their ancient territory north of the Arnon. They certainly invaded the west-Jordanic country, took Jericho, and for years imposed tribute on the region within their grasp. Worse yet were the annually recurring, wide-sweeping irruptions of the Midianites, Amalekites, and other Bedouin hordes, devastating harvests, robbing the people of all they possessed, and driving them to the shelter of dens and caves. The Ammonites were especially dangerous to the people of Gilead. The Philistines come into prominence only toward the end of the period. Now the valiant men who here and there rose up to resist and over-

come these various enemies, or who took possession of some new strip of land, or achieved some striking act of prowess, are called in the narratives of this period *Shôfetîm* or 'judges,' though the term must have had at one time merely the force of military 'chiefs,' and was probably borrowed by the Hebrews from the Canaanites. These chiefs or 'judges' were mostly of local or at best tribal importance.

The great defect of the period was its want of political solidarity. There was no organ of national unity. The Israelites, after Moses and Joshua, presented in this respect the exact counterpart of the Canaanites. Even the tribe was not an organic unit, but a mere aggregation of cities and villages. The sheik of nomad life had disappeared, and left no higher authority than the council of elders at the head of each local commune. Nor was the condition different ecclesiastically. The so-called 'higher criticism' has demonstrated that the old view of Israel living under an organized national priesthood during this age was in error. The oldest of the three law codes contained in the Pentateuch (Exod. xx. 23–xxiii. 33), makes no provision whatever for any form of priesthood, and explicitly contemplates local altars. So far as we can see, Moses left priestly functions to the regulation of ancient custom. In the nature of the case, however, settled agricultural life introduced changes in this respect. Occasions for priestly service multiplied; ritual became more elaborate; there came to be need of a class of persons conversant with its due performance, and it may be that at this time the term Levite, signifying apparently an *attaché* (i. e., to a sanctuary), came into use as a common designation for one exercising priestly functions, though some time must still have elapsed before such functions were vested in certain families or in the members of a certain tribe. The distinction between priest and Levite belongs to the exilic period. Local sanctuaries, however, exerted no national consolidating influence. The presence of the ark of the covenant, the national palladium from the days of Moses, may have made Shiloh a sort of Mecca to the Israelites, but did no more to unite them in national action than the Kaaba unites the Mussulman. The only prominent priest of the period is the true-hearted but weak Eli, near its close. Samuel, whom later times regarded as his *protégé*, was truly great, not as priest, however, but as prophet and political leader. "There was

no king in Israel," says the historian; "every man did what was right in his own eyes." There were some attempts at the establishment of a kingdom illustrated in the narratives regarding Gideon, his son Abimelech, and perhaps Jephthah; but these chiefs, whose sway was limited to certain tribes, were wholly the outcome of passing emergencies, not of great ideas concerning the national calling and destiny. Yet, notwithstanding its great defects, the period of the Judges was one of preparation, slow but effective. The religion taught by Moses was upon the whole maintained, and though the people, when settling in the Canaanitish towns and villages, took up the rites associated with agricultural pursuits everywhere, they were not conscious of any treachery toward Jahveh in identifying him with the local deity of a Canaanitish sanctuary known as the 'Baal' (i.e. lord) of the place. The charge of wholesale apostasies to the worship of foreign gods made by the later writers, is an outcome of the theoretical explanations offered by these writers of the earliest history of the Hebrews. Jephthah's sacrifice of his daughter may represent a religious custom introduced by Canaanitish influence, but the sacrifice was made to Jahveh, who remained the God of Israel. No doubt he was conceived by the masses after the manner of other national gods; and, as already intimated, it required centuries before the higher conception forced its way into the common thought. The progress of the period, however, lay in the domain not of religion, but of civilization and culture. Aside from agriculture, the industrial arts, trade, the comforts of life, Israel must have gained greatly in general knowledge of the world and mankind. The Phoenician pack-man carried Phoenician discoveries and enlarged views wherever he went.

That which finally led to the adoption of the kingly *régime* was the danger of utter subjugation by the Philistines. This warlike people, comparatively late comers in the land, were little heard of in the early part of the period. But during the last half century of it, — the exact date and duration cannot be determined, — strengthened perhaps by fresh immigrations from Crete, they became Israel's most dreaded foes. Their object, steadfastly pursued, would seem to have been primarily to secure and control the trade-routes northward, and secondarily to incapacitate Israel from interfering with them. Hence they threatened not this tribe or that, but the whole

people. Samson's efforts, so far as can now be seen, were more picturesque than effective. In Samuel's younger days the Philistines inflicted two terrible defeats on the Israelitish army, took the ark which had been carried into the field of battle, and probably destroyed the temple at Shiloh. From this time, for many years, Israel lay prostrate at the conqueror's feet. Conditions much like those of Deborah's time prevailed again. This made the question of an hereditary king the order of the day. The conservative spirit opposed it. It was not a Mosaic institution, and appeared incompatible with the kingship of Jahveh. But the chief exponent of this view, the prophet Samuel, later on abandoned it, led by what later tradition regarded as divine instruction, and became the directing mind of the movement. There is reason to believe that the formation of the bands of 'prophets,' which now first appear, was one of the points of the agitation, and that they in turn contributed mightily towards its furtherance. Inspired by faith in Jahveh, and kindled with patriotic ardor, they were the "Salvation Army" of the crisis, and preached organic union and resistance against the enemies of God and his people. Samuel, with that clear insight and foresight which form so marked a feature of Israel's prophets, saw that the time for the selection of a king was come, and that the near future would call for his services. Satisfied — we know not on what grounds — that Saul, a Benjaminite of noted family, was the best man for the office, he privately informed him of his destiny, and bade him "do as occasion serve thee, for Jahveh is with thee." He had not long to wait. Messengers appeared in Saul's city from Jabesh-Gilead, imploring assistance against the Ammonites, who under the leadership of Nahash were besieging them. Saul recognized the occasion of which the prophet had spoken. He instantly sent forth a summons throughout Israel to assemble in aid of Jabesh. Couched in striking terms, and enforced with dramatic symbolism, the summons bespoke the true leader, and met with instant and general response. Even Judah, long unaccustomed to such concert of action, repaired to his banner. Ammon was completely routed, Jabesh was saved, and "all the people made Saul king before Jahveh in Gilgal."

Of Saul's reign of twenty years (*circa* 1037–1017 B.C.) we

have few details. A brief summary speaks of successful wars against the Philistines, Moabites, Ammonites, Aramaeans, and the Amalekites. The Philistine war, begun soon after Saul became king, went on at intervals during his whole reign. The first collision occurred near Michmash (Fig. 1), where a vast Philis-

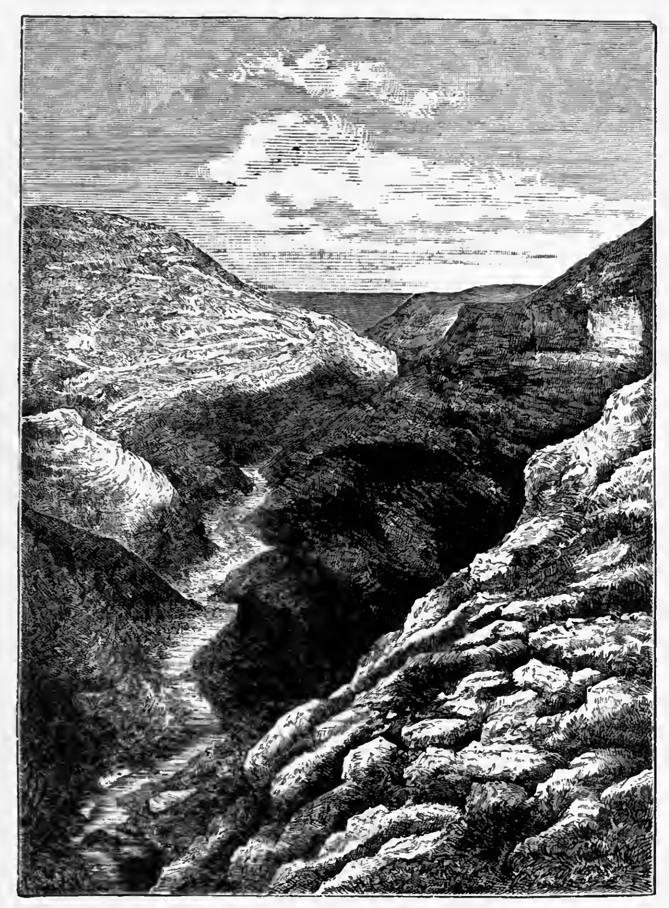


Fig. 1.—The Pass of Michmash.

tine host had gathered. Saul's son, Jonathan, and his armor-bearer, by surprising an outpost stationed on a steep hill, threw them into a panic, which instantly spread to the main army, made them incapable of distinguishing between friend and foe, and put them to flight. The Israelites who had been forced into the Philistine ranks deserted, and joined their compatriots in the pursuit, while every

mountain cave and valley poured forth crowds of men hiding in them, many of whom had perhaps been unable to reach Saul, who now fell on the flank of the enemy. It was an event very favorable to Israel, albeit far from crushing to the Philistines. More decisive was the expedition into the southern pasture-lands of Judah against the plundering and murderous Amalekites, which took place soon after the rout of Michmash. Concerning another battle with the Philistines, in Ephes-dammim, we learn little beyond its favorable issue. The writer who relates it really deals with the history of David, and enlarges only on his share in it. Indeed, most that follows, through many chapters of the first Book of Samuel, turns on David, and treats of Saul only in his relations to that future king. Saul's last battle was fought in the Plain of Esdraelon, against the Philistines. It was lost. Saul's three elder sons, Jonathan, Abinadab, and Melchishua, were slain; the unhappy king himself, wounded and pursued beyond hope of escape, fell on his own sword and died. Thus tragically ended a tragic life. Very early in his reign Saul incurrred the heavy displeasure of Samuel. It is difficult to resist the impression that the stern old prophet, originally an opponent of the kingship, judged the king's conduct too severely, and demanded submission to limitations and conditions incompatible with the exercise of even a delegated sovereignty. Be that as it may, the break between the prophet and himself, which the king could only regard as a break between Jahveh and himself, filled Saul with foreboding gloom, and to some extent produced the very disposition to arbitrary self-will which Samuel imputed to him. To this we must add the difficulties of his position. He was king without any of the machinery of kingship, scarcely able to speak or move without arousing jealousy and discontent. A settled melancholy, which deepened into mental disease, took possession of him, and during the later years of his reign made him suspicious of all about him. This explains his attitude toward David. Nevertheless, Saul deserved well of Israel. He was ever sincere and steadfast in devotion to his people and his God. He began the nation's liberation from Philistine bondage, gave it military training which remained when all else was lost, and made the era of David possible.

The early history of David, as we read it in the Book of Samuel,

is made up from many different sources, which by no means always agree. Its main outlines are these: He was summoned to the court as a young man of about twenty-five years, pleasing in person and address, and already noted for valor and musical skill. The latter, it was thought, might serve to dispel the king's melancholy. For some time all went well. David won friends on all sides. The king himself became attached to him, and made him his armor-bearer. Jonathan entered into a covenant of brotherhood with him. He was made captain of a thousand men, and son-in-law to the king. But Saul's diseased mind soon conceived suspicions of conspiracy, and David was compelled to flee the country. He took up his abode in the cave, or more properly the mountain fortress, Adullam (cf. 1 Sam. xxii. 5), an old stronghold of the Canaanites still in their possession, on the eastern edge of the Philistine plain. Here members of his own clan and a band of several hundred restless and discontented spirits, gathered about him, with whom he engaged in predatory excursions against hostile Bedouins of the desert. Hence he removed to Keilah (or Kegilah), not far off, in the mountains of Judah, which he had relieved from a troop of Philistine freebooters. Driven thence by tidings of Saul's plans, he betook himself to the caves of the region southeast of Hebron. Here roved the nomad portions of the Caleb clan, and here befell the incident of the churlish Nabal, and David's marriage with the wise and beautiful Abigail. But constantly subject to pursuit by Saul, he despaired of safety except under Philistine supremacy. Achish, king of Gath, glad to detach the hero from his people, gave him Ziklag as a fief. This desperate move resulted in placing David in the most difficult and dangerous situation of his life. Pretending to join the Philistine army in their march to Jezreel, he intended in reality to proceed against the Amalekites. Only the suspicious fears of the other kings and chieftains, which forced Achish to send them back to Ziklag, extricated David from what would have turned out to be a most difficult dilemma. Returning, he found Ziklag plundered by the watchful Amalekites, whom he pursued with success, chastising them severely, and recovering all the captives and more than all the property. Two days after his return he heard of the death of Saul and his sons.

The death of Saul left Israel once more at the mercy of the

Philistines. Indeed, all the country west of the Jordan, except Judah, seems to have been virtually in their possession. Yet no such complete demoralization ensued as would have followed a similar disaster in the time of the Judges. The standing army instituted by Saul, now reduced to a skeleton perhaps, but not annihilated, furnished an organic centre of cohesion and action. Abner, the commander-in-chief, cousin of the slain king, transferred the royal residence from Gibeah of Saul to Mahanaim, east of the Jordan, and placed Eshbaal (1 Chron. viii. 33), commonly called Ishbosheth, Saul's youngest son, upon the throne. Meanwhile, David's opportunity had come. His whole conduct, while exiled in the outskirts of Judah, had tended to ingratiate him with that tribe, which was also his own, and thus far the least eager for national consolidation. Informed of Saul's death, he proceeded to Hebron, and was there made king of Judah. Thus there were two Israelitish kingdoms, though both were tributary to the Philistines. Eshbaal's kingship was short-lived. Its only record is that of a long-drawn war against David for the restoration of Judah to the dynasty of Saul. Eshbaal was young and weak, and Abner, ostensibly incensed by an indirect charge of preparing to usurp the crown, but probably not less influenced by the king's incapacity and the ascertained wishes of the people, made terms with David. The poor king was cruelly murdered by two of his captains, who carried his head to David, in the hope of receiving the reward for their deed. David, however, who wished to appear as a member of the house of Saul, put them to death in accordance with the custom of blood-revenge. Then came the elders of Israel to Hebron, and solemnly anointed David to be their king. Thus, after seven years and a half, the national authority was restored to one sceptre.

The election of David by Israel, and his acceptance, gave unequivocal notice to the Philistines that both he and the people renounced their feudal dependence, and would endeavor to free the country from foreign domination. Nor were the Philistines slow to understand this. Before David had time to collect his strength, they were in motion, and forced him to retreat, with his small troop of 'mighty men,' to his old shelter, the stronghold Adullam. Here, while the Philistines, intent on cutting off northern re-enforcements

and securing the person of David, encamped in the valley of the Rephaim (adjoining Jerusalem on the southwest), and threw a garrison into Bethlehem, doubtless preparatory to an advance against Hebron, accessions of national militia reached David, through byways and detours in the mountainous district. Then, taking the field, he fell upon the enemy, and at a point named Baal-perazim smote them so that, if the strongly-colored narrative is to be trusted, the Phoenicians left their idols behind them, as formerly Israel left the ark. It was a good beginning, but the end was not yet. The Philistines came again—how long after the preceding defeat we have no means of knowing—and took up their former camping-ground in the valley of the Rephaim. Neither their objective point nor David's location is given; but the Philistine line of flight seems to indicate that they faced toward Jerusalem, and that David occupied a position to the north or west of them. For, directed by an oracle from Jahveh, he attacked them from behind, and smote them from Gibeon to Gezar (half-way between Ekron and Nicopolis). These battles were by no means all that were needed to convince the Philistines that the day of their supremacy was over; but our sources, however full of David, are singularly meagre on these wars, although in waging them David was accomplishing the very purpose of his elevation to the kingship. Battle after battle is mentioned, only for the sake of some admired deed of individual prowess connected with them (cf. 2 Sam. xxi. 15 ff.; xxiii. 8 ff.). A last decisive conflict is briefly mentioned in 2 Sam. viii. 1, whereby Philistine supremacy was finally broken. But the character and genius of the conqueror deprived defeat of much of its embittering power. Idle Philistine soldiers sought service under his banner; so that henceforth his troop of 'mighty men' is recruited, and his body-guard composed, of Cherethites and Pelethites, i.e., Cretans and Philistines; in other words, Philistines of the later and earlier immigration.

But a nation needs a capital, a centre of national life and action, almost as much as independence. David fixed his eye on Jebus, the later, and, as we now know, also earlier, Jerusalem. Easily defensible, so that a demand for its peaceful surrender was met by the mocking assurance that its lame and blind were sufficient to hold it, almost exactly in the centre of that part of the country

which at all times was the main theatre of Israel's history, and yet thus far unconnected with either Ephraim or Judah and their mutual jealousies, it seemed preordained to be the Hebrew capital. It is uncertain when David proceeded to the conquest of Jebus; but if, in the second campaign above described, the Philistines were facing towards that stronghold, as seems probable, it must then have been already in his possession, and he must have availed himself of the respite afforded by his first victory to secure the site of his future royal city. The account of its taking in 2 Sam. v. 6–9 would then have to be read between verses 21 and 22 of the same chapter. The achievement itself furnishes no counter indications. There is nothing improbable in its accomplishment during an interval of a month, even if a much longer time did not intervene between the Philistine attacks. The city taken, David established his residence 'in the fort,' i.e., on Mount Sion, the southeastern hill, divided on the north by a ravine from the threshing-floor of Araunah, where the temple was afterwards built. Here, with the aid of Hiram, king of Tyre, who, eager for friendly relations with one whose reign promised advantages to commerce, sent him cedar-wood, carpenters, and masons, he built himself a palace. At the same time courtiers, military men, and Israelites of all classes and conditions, naturally crowded to the new residence, and speedily built up a city not unworthy of the nation. But one thing was lacking — a national sanctuary. Not national in the sense of exclusive, — of that there was as yet no thought, — but worthy of the national faith and cult, and capable of lending dignity to occasions of high national interest and solemnity. To supply this, he determined to bring the ark of Jahveh, which, ever since its return by the Philistines, had been hidden in the obscurity of a private house, to Jerusalem. An ominous event, the sudden death of one of its attendants, occurring in the course of its transfer, shook his purpose for the time being. He feared to bring the dread symbol of Jahveh's presence into the city, and so placed it in the house of one Obed-Edom. Three months later, convinced of the groundlessness of his fears, he brought it forth with great rejoicings, and housed it in a tent he had made for it. On this great occasion the king himself officiated as priest.

War continued to be the chief concern of this reign. Ammon

and Moab across the Jordan were as little inclined as the Philistines to rejoice in Israel's rise to power and dignity. Eshbaal's kingdom had probably bought their permission to exist by paying tribute. Tribute was now out of the question, and a contest was inevitable. Both sides, it may be surmised, were ready to seize the first plausible opportunity that offered or could be devised. This explains Ammon's conduct. King Nahash, with whom David had been on friendly terms, having died, David sent ambassadors to his son and successor, Hanun, to express sympathy and congratulations. The new king, pretending to suspect spies in these ambassadors, grossly insulted them. This was a *casus belli* which no self-respecting power could overlook. Ammon proceeds at once to engage, or to summon allies already engaged, among the Aramaeans of the north. Zobah, Beth-rehob, Ishtob, and Maacah respond with large forces and good generalship. But the quick resources and stormy valor of Joab, David's general, overmatch them. The allies take to flight, and the Ammonites retreat into their capital, near which the battle was fought. This ends the campaign, — the season for military operations being probably over, — but leaves Ammon's outrage unpunished. The next year, according to a late source which is not altogether trustworthy, the Aramaeans, now fully aroused to their own danger, under the captaincy of Shobach, Hadadezer of Zobah's generalissimo, prepared to advance against Israel. David's army, under his own leadership, seems to have met them while yet on Aramaean soil (2 Sam. x. 16 f.). They were defeated and made tributary. Whether it was on this occasion that Damascus came to assist Hadadezer (2 Sam. viii. 3–6), or at a later time, when the latter may have attempted to shake off the yoke of David, must be left undetermined. Either way, Damascus also was subjugated, and had to receive Israelite garrisons. The following year, at the opening of the war season, Joab was sent to lay siege to the strong Ammonite capital, Rabbah. It seems to have held out more than a year. Even after the city itself — the 'city of waters,' 2 Sam. xii. 27 — was taken, the fortress still resisted, until David himself appeared with fresh troops. The captured enemies were desiccated in brickkilns, crushed under iron threshing-sledges, and destroyed in other barbarous ways, of which happily few other instances occur in Israelitish history (Fig. 2).

The fact that similar severity was shown by David towards the Moabites — the subjugation of whom may belong to an earlier date (2 Sam. viii. 2), — argues that they also had given offence of great enormity. The conquest of Edom perhaps preceded the fall of Rabbah (1 Sam. viii. 13, where for 'Syrians' read 'Edomites'). The occasion of it is not stated; probably an invasion of Judah while David was busy with the Aramaeans. The chief conflict took place in the Valley of Salt, at the southern extremity of the Dead Sea; but the war only ended with an invasion of Edom's territory and the slaughter of the greater part of the male population (1 Kings xi. 15). The incorrigible Amalekites seem to have been effectually exterminated, possibly about the same time.

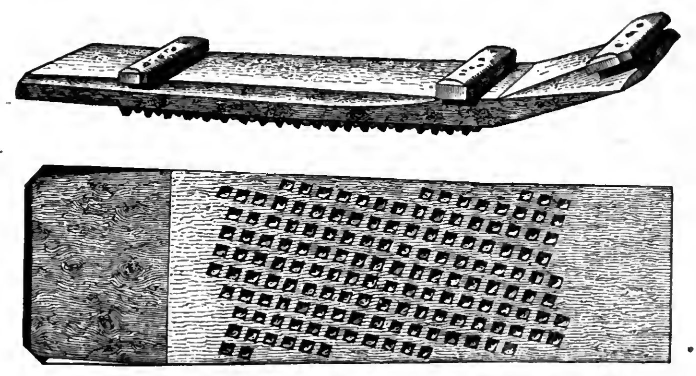


Fig. 2. — Threshing-Sledge. (After Lortet.)

Long before the end of his life, David had become lord paramount of all the land from Hamath in the north, where king Toi voluntarily paid him homage, to the Gulf of Akabah in the south,[1] and from Damascus and the desert to the coast of the Mediterranean, except the Phoenician and Philistine lowlands. The Israel that once hid in caves and clefts from invading foes, now saw the streets of its capital filled with trains of tribute-bearers. Wealth and security were enjoyed at home, honor and influence abroad. Yet David was no common world subduer. Conquest was not with him an end, but a means. He lived and fought for his people and his God. We may not credit him with consciously aiming at all his

[1] The formula "from Dan to Beersheba" (see Fig. 3) suggests the most northern and the most southern landmarks of Palestine. — Ed.

life-work secured, but it is none the less true that to him the world is mediately indebted for all the life and light it has derived from Israel's national career. Over his failings and defects justice itself throws the mantle of charity.

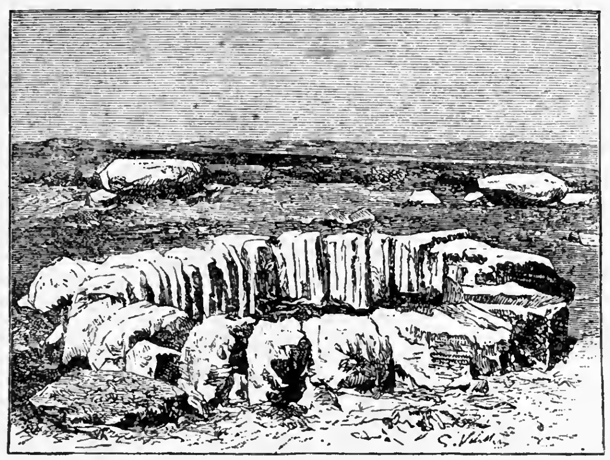


Fig. 3. — Wells of Beersheba. (After Lortet.)

The rebellion of his son Absalom brought sorrow to David's peaceful years. It failed because the vigor of the king was still unbroken. It was he who quelled it while retiring before it. The intellectual strength and moral worth of the nation most certainly did not sympathize with it, though the movement threatened at one time to bring about again a division among the people. Another opponent arose in the person of Seba, a Benjaminite; but with the aid of the crafty Joab, this danger, like the rebellion of Absalom, was successfully averted. Even in his old age David did not gain the gratitude of his people, which, despite his faults and errors, he deserved; but posterity amply compensated him by making him the type of the faithful servant of Jahveh. David, idealized by later writers, becomes a writer of religious poetry, and is viewed as the prototype of the Messiah.

CHAPTER II.

THE SUCCESSORS OF DAVID.

BY REV. PROFESSOR P. H. STEENSTRA, D.D.

THE last public act of David's life was the seating of Solomon as his successor on the throne. The people seem to have expected the succession to come to Adonijah, the oldest living son (1 Kings ii. 15). This would have been in accordance with the rights of primogeniture, and with the custom prevalent in other Oriental monarchies. At court, however, there appears to have been a well-grounded belief that the king himself purposed otherwise. Acting on this belief, Adonijah, who had already tentatively assumed something of regal state, with the aid of Joab, the renowned field-marshal, and Abiathar, the last survivor of the priestly line of Eli, and until then David's ever faithful adherent, took measures to secure what he and they doubtless thought his rights. That he was actually proclaimed king, although assumed by Nathan the prophet in his interview with David, is not stated; but the purpose for which numerous carefully chosen guests were invited to his sacrificial banquet at the Serpent-stone (Zoheleth), near the 'well Rogel,' not far from the junction of the Kidron and Hinnom Valleys, was sufficiently clear. Through the intervention of Nathan, the intrigue was promptly frustrated. At David's command, Solomon, mounted on the old monarch's well-known mule, was conducted by Zadok the priest, Nathan the prophet, and, last but not least, by Benaiah and his formidable command, the Cherethites and Pelethites, to the Gihon Spring in the Kidron Valley, and anointed and proclaimed king. The sound of the trumpets, and the shouts of the attendant multitude that announced the event, reached the ears of the feasters, who had not long to wait for explanations. Solomon was king. Adonijah's reign was ended before it began. And there

can be no doubt that of the two Solomon was far the worthier choice.

The youthful king — it is scarcely possible that he was more than twenty or twenty-one years old at his accession — displayed remarkable clemency towards his foiled opponents. Adonijah was sent to his house with assurance of perfect safety during good behavior. His partisans were permitted to keep themselves out of sight. Yet the new reign was not destined to be fully established without bloodshed. The narrative declares that the dying David himself charged his son to execute justice on Joab for "what he did to me" (Absalom, although not named, is surely not forgotten), 'and to the two captains of the hosts of Israel, Abner and Amasa,' both treacherously murdered. On Shimei also, who had bitterly cursed him, the old king is said to have invoked condign punishment. The authenticity of both statements has been questioned, and regarded as a later invention designed to clear of bloodshed the builder of the temple. David, it is argued, with all his physical and mental faculties impaired and blunted, could not have given a commission so alive with "implacable hatred and perfidious calculation." On the other hand, it may be claimed that David desired to avert from his house a blood requisition similar to that he had been forced to make on the house of Saul (2 Sam. xxi.); and, again, Shimei's pardon for an offence against the anointed of Jahveh may afterward well have appeared to David as a dereliction from official duty under an impulse of personal generosity, which, in the interest of righteousness and public safety, demanded rectification. The case against the authenticity of the narrative in this instance is, on the whole, stronger, but however this may be, David's successor, Solomon, was soon furnished with other reasons for acting. David being dead, Adonijah sued for possession of a young woman who in rank and name, though not in fact, had been one of the late king's concubines (1 Kings ii. 15 ff.). The request, possibly innocent according to Oriental ideas, might, and under the circumstances probably did, indicate a disposition to renew intrigues to obtain the crown. The king, therefore, determined to break up the cabal. Adonijah and Joab — the latter, whether again aiding the pretender or not, at any rate drew attention to himself by fleeing to the sanc-

tuary of the altar — were put to death. Abiathar, the old chief priest, was deposed, and banished to his own estates in Anathoth. Shimei, a man of evil disposition, if not a present offender, was ordered to confine himself within the precincts of the capital on pain of death, which, after three years, he incurred in a reckless manner, which may well have seemed to mark him as smitten with judicial madness. The same remark applies to Adonijah and Joab. To the eyes of their contemporaries they must have appeared as men whom a wrathful nemesis urged on fatal ways. Divine indications combined with political necessity justified David's dying request, and led to its execution.

The reign of Solomon presents more diversified points of interest than that of David, and had it been animated by the same unselfish devotion to the welfare of the people, might have been its worthy complement, and given permanence to all its results. The traditional conception of it as peaceful is in the main correct. Yet Solomon is not to be regarded as devoid of military instincts or abilities, although they were those of the engineer rather than the commander in the field. He secured the northern boundary of the land by fortifying Hazor, commanding a much used ford of the Jordan, below Lake Merom; the southern, so far as that was possible, by strengthening Tamar, in the steppe region of Judah (1 Kings ix. 18), whereby the road to Elath and Ezion-geber was guarded. Other points fortified were Megiddo, in the plain of Jezreel, on the great caravan route to the east, Beth-horon and Gezer, on the main road from the Philistine plain to Jerusalem. The capital itself was strengthened by the enlargement or reconstruction of the fortress Millo, and the building of connecting portions of the wall about the city. This reign also introduced the war-chariot and cavalry into the Israelitish army, — an innovation of which David had felt no need (2 Sam. viii. 4), and which for that reason perhaps, as well as for its tendency to beget vain self-confidence, the prophets never approved. Concerning active war, however, we hear scarcely anything; partly because our present sources depict Solomon so exclusively from the religious point of view, partly, it may be, because he effected by diplomacy what in David's time the sword alone could achieve. What we do hear sheds no great lustre on Solomon's arms.

Shortly after his accession, Hadad, a scion of the royal house of Edom, who, as a mere boy, escaped from his country when it was conquered by David, and had since lived in Egypt, where he married the sister of the reigning king's wife, returned to Edom, apparently against the counsel and wishes of the Egyptian king, from whom, therefore, he received no aid. The Hebrew text relating this event is disarranged, but clearly enough tells us that Hadad was an adversary to Solomon, who did much evil, held Israel in abhorrence, and 'reigned over Edom' (1 Kings xi. 25; for 'Aram' [Syria] read 'Edom'). This indicates far more than a transient uprising, quickly quelled. Solomon must, however, have retained sufficient power over Edom to enable him to use Ezion-geber as a naval and commercial station (1 Kings x. 26 ff.). Another untoward event is reported from the extreme north, although in a less thoroughly reliable passage. Rezon, an Aramaean soldier, formerly in the service of Hadadezer, king of Zobah, but a freebooter since the conquest of that king by David, had found means to establish himself in Damascus as king. It is certain that Solomon did not again subjugate Damascus; but if the statement by the late chronicler (2 Chron. viii. 3) that he went to Hamath-zobah and prevailed against it, can be relied on, — and it certainly finds corroboration in 2 Kings xiv. 28, — he carried on war at a considerable distance north of it, and may be supposed to have attempted its recovery, but without success. It is not probable that these were the only movements of tributary peoples to recover independence. The accession of a young and inexperienced king furnished an opportunity too favorable to be neglected. It seems unlikely that such vigorous nations as the Ammonites and Moabites continued supinely submissive. But all this is conjecture. What we are reasonably certain of is, that David's conquests were, upon the whole, maintained. No doubt the youthful king was much strengthened by his marriage, early in his reign, with a daughter of the king of Egypt, probably the last monarch of the Twenty-first Dynasty, Pa-seb-kha-nen II. This king took the above-mentioned Canaanite city Gezer, — on what occasion we do not know, — and made a present of it to his daughter. This armed demonstration enhanced the moral support his alliance rendered to Solomon, and may have saved the latter much fighting.

The activity of this reign was accordingly directed mainly towards internal affairs. The king, grown up during the more peaceful years of his father's career, and withal endowed with vigorous mental powers, had enjoyed opportunities for reflecting on national needs and the nature of monarchical institutions, such as no battlefields could afford. He wrought according to carefully devised plans, all the parts of which tended to a common end, — Israel's national security, development, and glory, as he conceived them. It was, therefore, not without good ground that posterity celebrated his 'wisdom,' that is, his ready intelligence and practical ability. The defects of his fundamental conceptions are not to be denied. They were those of absolutism, pure and simple. The individual citizen was lost in the mass, or rather hidden in the shadow of the throne; for the glory of the nation was assumed to find its highest expression in the Oriental pomp and splendor of its court. But Solomon is not to be judged by modern standards. These things were inherent in Oriental kingship, and unavoidably came to light as soon as the chief kingly function ceased to be military leadership. The reconciliation of union and centralization with popular interests is even yet of difficult attainment. Solomon's measures for the peace and safety of the country and the greater lines of traffic have already been referred to. The administration of justice took on a more elaborate form. The imposition of public burdens, of labor and taxes for royal works and the maintenance of the court, was systematized. The need of revenues, larger than could be furnished by the people and by tributary nations, led to the establishment of royal commercial monopolies. The king of Israel together with the king of Tyre engaged in commercial voyages to Ophir, which, according to a theory recently advanced, is to be sought in southern Africa, though there are more cogent reasons for looking for it in southern Arabia, whence also the queen of Sheba came. But however great Solomon's revenues may have been, his outlays were larger, so that we read of his transferring twenty cities to the king of Tyre for building materials furnished by him. The requirements of the royal household were enormous, although the extent of the harem is probably greatly exaggerated (1 Kings xi. 3, cf. Song of Sol. vi. 8). The introduction of war-chariots and cavalry, and the

new administrative system, vastly enlarged both the military and the civil-service lists.

To these outlays must be added the vast amount of labor and wealth expended during many years in building operations, wherein Solomon emulated Egyptian and Assyrian kings, on a scale greatly smaller, indeed, when the works are considered, but fully equal, perhaps, when the kingdoms and their resources are compared. Part of this was wisely bestowed on defences and other public works in various parts of the kingdom, but most of it went to adorn and magnify the capital. Soon after the opening of the reign, preparations began for building a Temple and a Royal Palace. The two formed parts of one great plan, and were, doubtless, taken in hand simultaneously. Native skill was insufficient for the work. Part of the material also must be obtained outside of the kingdom. Hiram, king of Tyre, the same who had aided David on a similar occasion, was, therefore, applied to, and gladly furnished skilled workers in stone, wood, and metals, and an abundance of the beautiful and enduring cedar, and the even more lasting cypress-wood of Mount Lebanon. The felling of the trees, and their conversion into lumber, proceeded under Phoenician supervision (1 Kings v. 6); but the unskilled labor was performed by levies of Israelites and subjugated Canaanites sent into the mountains for tribute service. The product was transported to the sea, and floated in rafts to Joppa (Yafa) by the Phoenicians. Both materials and service were paid for with to us indeterminable but vast quantities of wheat and olive-oil (1 Kings v. 11). The necessary stone was probably quarried nearer home. It was cut into level-faced blocks of immense size, eight or ten cubits in length. After two or three years of such preparation, in which great multitudes of laborers of various capacities were engaged, the foundation of the temple was laid in the fourth year of Solomon's reign. Whether the erection of the palace was begun in the same year, we have no means of knowing, but it probably was.

The description of the buildings, as given in 1 Kings v. 3–vii. 51, is exceedingly difficult and obscure. It contains technical terms which can only be conjecturally explained, and passes silently over many points essential to a thorough understanding of what is given,

The whole subject has been repeatedly examined anew in recent years by architects as well as biblical scholars, and with special success by Dr. Bernhard Stade, professor at the University of Giessen, aided by his colleague, professor and privy architectural councillor von Ritgen. The following sketch is based on Stade's conclusions (Figs. 4, 5).

The location of the temple admits of no doubt. It stood on the site now occupied by the Mosque of Omar, on the higher or northern part of the eastern hill, between which and the Mount of Olives the Kidron Valley intervenes. Solomon's palace must have stood south of the temple, on the same eastern eminence; because one went up from the king's house to the temple, and down from the temple to the king's house (Jer. xxvi. 10; xxxvi. 10; 2 Kings xi. 19), which would not be true if its location were either north of the temple or on the southwestern hill. The king's house consisted of three or four buildings, all, like the temple, running east and west, and together with their courts, or open spaces enclosed by massive walls (1 Kings vii. 12, where for 'court' read 'court-walk'), which also included the outer court of the temple. The first or southernmost building was the House of the Forest of Lebanon, 100 cubits long, 50 wide, and 30 high. It consisted of two stories; the lower, a single hall, the open space of which was broken only by two or three rows of cedar pillars, whence the name of the structure; the upper divided into a number of rooms. The hall below was probably designed as a sort of parliament house for the magnates of the kingdom; the rooms above to serve as an armory (1 Kings x. 16 f.; Isa. xxii. 8). Beyond, northward, was the Pillar-hall, 50 cubits long, and 30 wide, height not given, but probably two-thirds or more of the width. It was entered by porticoed steps, which led into a vestibule. Concerning its uses nothing is said in the sources, but we shall best conceive of it as a waiting-room for those who came "to present gifts to the king and to invoke his judicial decisions" (Stade). For next beyond it rose the Throne-room, or Judgment-hall. Concerning the dimensions or architecture of the latter, we learn nothing, except that it was wainscoted from floor to ceiling with cedar. It probably adjoined the Pillar-hall, and was, therefore, of similar style but of larger proportions. Beyond this stood

the Palace proper, the royal residence, of which the queen's house formed a wing. The building, provided with a court of its own,

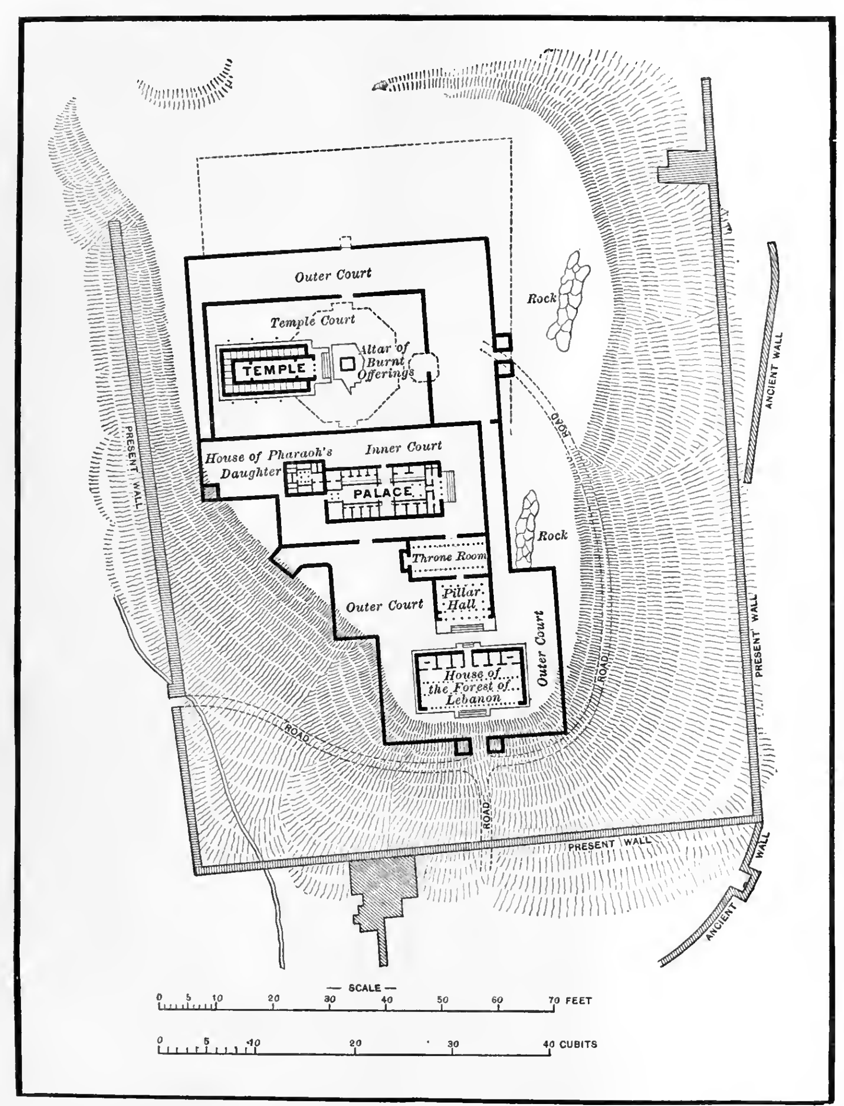


FIG. 4. — Solomon's Temple and Palaces.

was separated by cross-walls from the temple court on the north and from the state buildings on the south. It must have covered much ground, but the author of the Book of Kings gives no description,

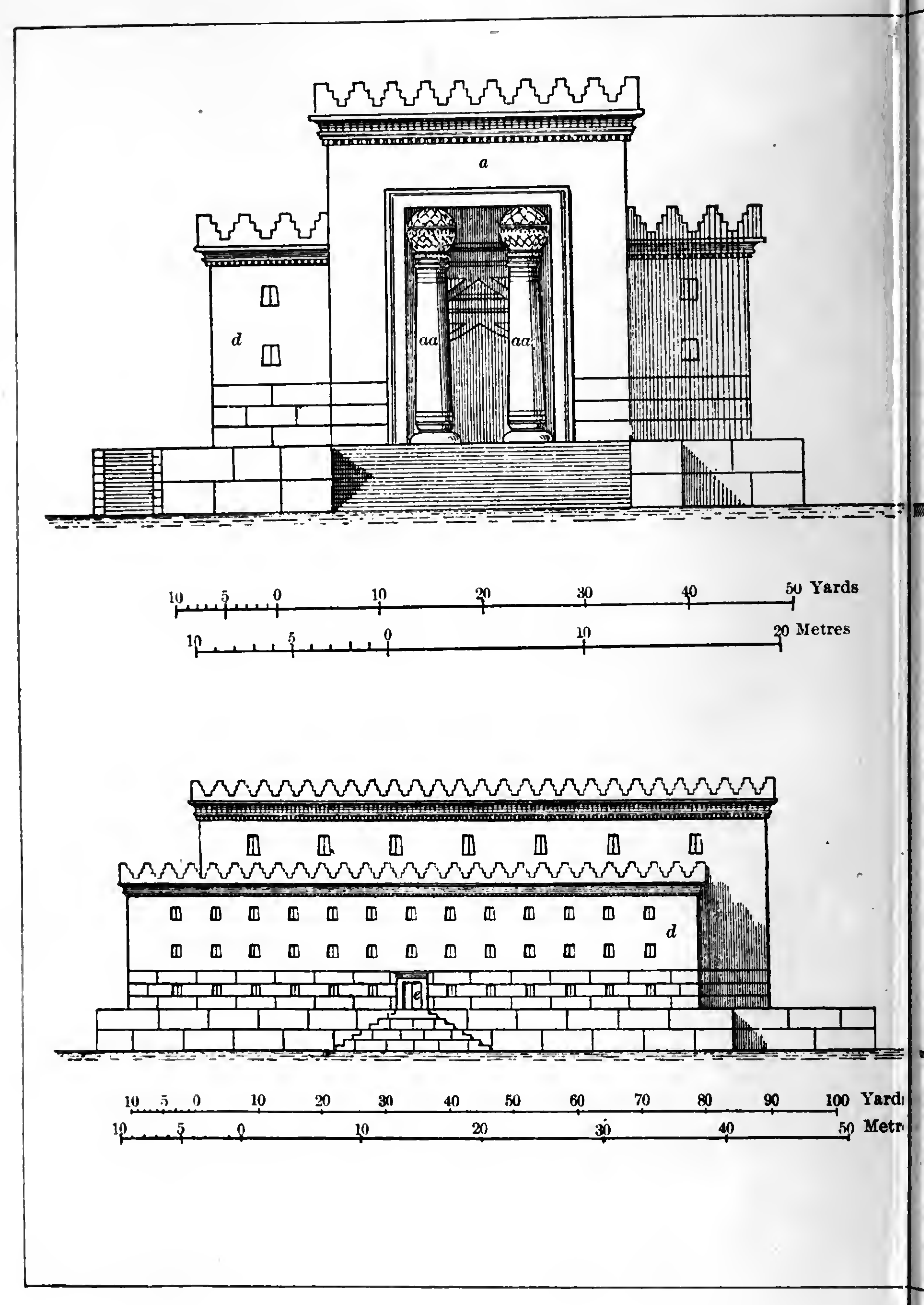
Its style was doubtless of the pillared order. The whole series of buildings was constructed of massive blocks of hewn stone, and constituted a castle of great strength.

The description of the Temple is fuller (PLATE II.),[1] and may be supplemented here and there by Ezekiel's vision of the future temple (Ezek. xl.), which is doubtless in the main a reconstruction of the sanctuary in which he had himself officiated as priest. It was built on the threshing-floor of Araunah, where David had already reared an altar. The topography of the spot makes it nearly certain that Solomon had much to do to prepare it for his temple site. It was necessary to enlarge its area on the western side by substructions of masonry and filling in with earth or stone. For there is reason to believe that the altar in front of the temple, the position of which necessarily determined the location of the latter, stood on the ledge which now rises several feet above the floor of the Mosque of Omar; hence called the Rock Dome. The temple proper consisted of an oblong rectangle, 60 cubits long, 20 wide, and 30 high. To this must be added the porch, or vestibule, the length of which (answering to the width of the house) was 20 cubits, and the breadth 10. The cubit is probably the same as the Egyptian ell, .525 of a metre, or very nearly 20⅔ inches. The external walls, judging by those of Ezekiel's temple, had a thickness of 6 cubits at the lower part. The above measures must therefore be taken in the clear, and make no allowance for either external or dividing walls. The vestibule (*a* on the plan, Fig. 5), with the external portal, faced the east. From the vestibule one passed into what later times called the Holy Place (*b*), a room of 40 by 20 cubits, behind which was what the Authorized Version calls the 'oracle,' the Most Holy Place of after days (*c*), 20 cubits long, 20 wide, and 20 high, a perfect cube, formed by a second ceiling

[1] EXPLANATION OF PLATE II.

The upper left-hand drawing gives the front elevation, and the lower left-hand drawing the side elevation of the Temple, as reconstructed by Stade; the upper right-hand drawing, the north and south cross-section, and the lower right-hand drawing the east and west cross-section. In these drawings, as also in FIG. 5, *aa*, *aa*, indicate the brass pillars; *a*, the vestibule; *ab*, four-cornered double door; *b*, the Holy Place; *bb*, the Table of Shew-bread; *bc*, double door of olive-wood; *c*, the "Oracle," the Most Holy Place; *cc*, space above the Oracle; *d*, *d*, *d*, store-rooms; *e*, side entrance. See also above, pp. 50–54.

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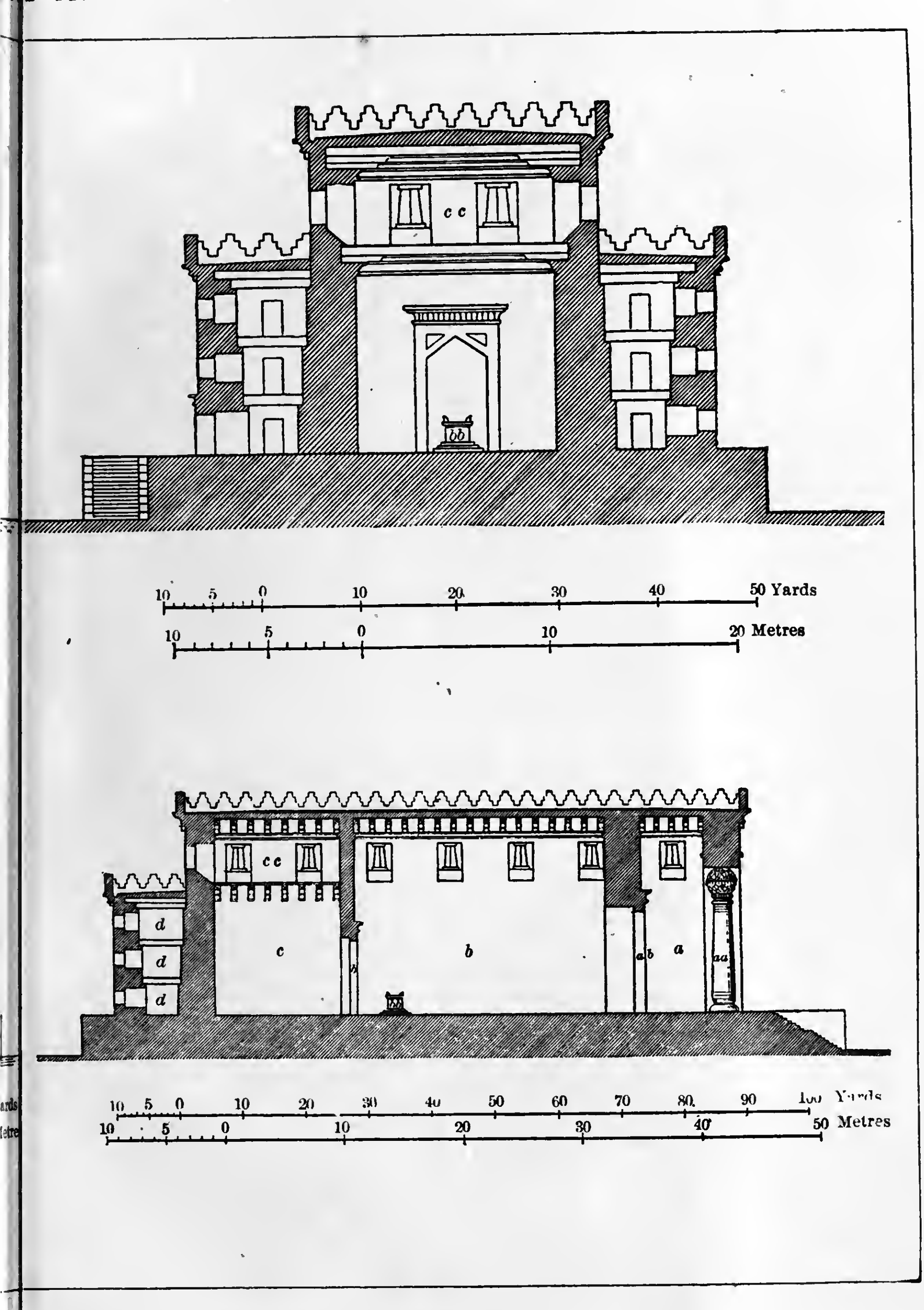


Solomon's Tem

(After Sta

History of All Nations, Vol. II., page 50.

-ATE II.



...e: Reconstruction.

(...nd von Ritgen.)

placed somewhat less than 10 cubits below the main ceiling or roof. It was separated from the Holy Place by a partition of cedar-wood (*cd*), reaching from the floor to the main ceiling, 30 cubits high. This left a large and probably inaccessible space over the Most Holy Place (*cc*). A five-cornered double door of olive-

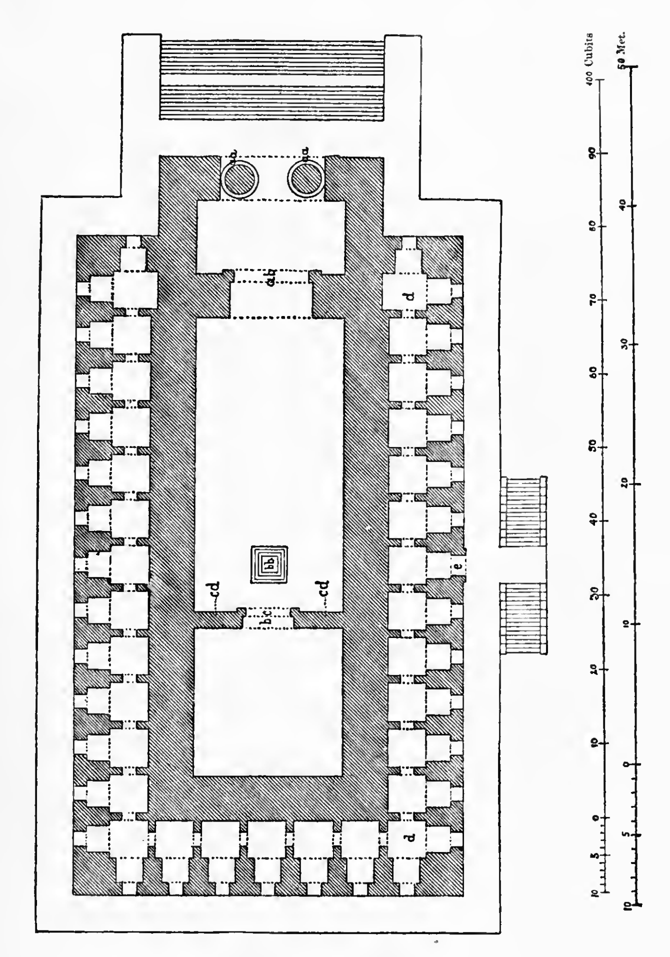


Fig. 5. — Ground-plan of Solomon's Temple.

wood (*bc*) communicated between the outer and inner sanctuary. In the Most Holy Place the sacred ark was deposited, between the guardian wings of two colossal cherubim, symbols of the divine presence. They were carved out of olive-wood, but of their form no certain knowledge has been preserved. This room was entirely

dark; for, as said Solomon (1 Kings iii. 12), "Jahveh said that he would dwell in darkness." Indeed, the whole edifice was scantily lighted. The windows, pierced through thick walls, were placed over 20 cubits above the floor, and provided with some form of immovable blinds, intended to bar out birds and other animals, and to turn the rain. They furnished ventilation rather than light. In the Holy Place the only piece of furniture was the altar-like cedar table of the shew-bread, standing before the doors of the innermost sanctuary (*bb*). The altar of incense and the ten candelabras appear only in additions to the older account by later writers. They may have been added afterwards, but the incense-altar at least not until after Ezekiel's time. A four-cornered double door (*ab*) gave passage from the vestibule into the sanctuary. Its posts were of olive-wood, and its leaves, divided vertically so as to fold together, of cypress. The height of the vestibule, not given in Kings, was probably the same as that of the main building, so that one roof covered the whole. The figures given in 2 Chron. iii. 4 — 120 cubits — are due to text corruption. The portal in the vestibule appears to have been an open one, without doors. It derived dignity from two brass pillars, 23 cubits high and 12 in circumference (*aa*), which were the limit of the passageway. According to Ezekiel, each of them was flanked by 3 cubits of the front wall (inside measure); so that, as their diameter was $3\frac{9}{11}$ cubits, the open passageway was something less than 7 cubits. As the building was probably raised considerably above the level of the ground, the portal was fronted by a platform of stone, to which access was given by a series of stone steps. The roof of the entire edifice was flat, internally formed of cedar beams and boards, externally covered with a closely compacted composition of earth, gravel, lime, etc., slightly sloping toward the sides, and enclosed by a balustrade or parapet. The floor was of cypress-wood, and the walls were sheathed from top to bottom with cedar. The statements that this sheathing was ornamented with carving, and that both sheathing and floor were overlaid with gold, have the appearance of interpolations. The carving may have been done at a later date, for Ezekiel also has it in his temple; but of the gilding he makes no mention. The only pillars about the building were those of the vestibule; but "as cedar beams

cannot span a space of 20 cubits without bending, they must have been supported by some constructions springing from the walls, concerning which, however, we learn nothing" (Stade).

This main building, or rather, the temple proper, exclusive of the vestibule, was surrounded on the south, west, and north by an appended structure, fifteen cubits high, for which the sides of the temple served as inner walls (*d*). Its outer walls, in Ezekiel's temple, had a thickness of five cubits. It consisted of three stories, the lower of which measured five cubits in width, the middle one six, and the upper seven. This increase of width resulted from a diminution of thickness of either the temple walls alone, or more probably of the outer wall also, at the level of the second and third stories. By this means the necessity for inserting the beams into the body of the walls was obviated (see cross-section in PLATE II.). The stories were probably of equal height, — five cubits in the clear. The external height, including the slightly declining roof and its parapet, must have approached twenty cubits. This explains the high position of the temple windows, which was further conditioned by the necessity of clearing the ceiling of the Most Holy Place. Each story was divided into rooms, of whose third dimension we are not informed. In Ezekiel's plan they seem to have numbered thirty-three for each story. Stade's ground-plan gives thirty-one, and represents those of the lower story as square. Of their internal arrangement we know nothing. The only entrance of which we read was a door, in the external south wall, to the middle room of the lower story (*e*), whence some form of stairway led to the higher floors. The rooms served as depositories for sacred utensils, votive offerings, and perhaps temple stores.

The temple was thus a stately building, albeit, to our eyes, of severe and gloomy aspect. It was the house of Jahveh, entered only by priests in the discharge of duty. Much the greater part of worship, all the rites and solemnities in which the people bore a more or less active part, took place under the open sky, in the two courts of the sanctuary. Concerning the size of those courts we have no information. The inner as well as the outer was accessible to the people, naturally with such restrictions as served to secure freedom of movement and action for the officiating priests. The

inner court contained the great brazen altar of burnt offerings, cast by the Tyrian artist, Hiram, whose father had married an Israelitish woman, and who doubtless wrought *con amore.* It stood opposite the temple portal. Near it, toward the south, stood the brazen sea, an immense water-holder of circular form, resting on the backs of twelve brazen steers, standing in groups of three, facing the four quarters of the heavens. (Compare Fig. 6.) Besides this, there were ten huge lavers, or basins, of brass, mounted on wheeled carriages. These were probably used to carry water to the altar and the spot where the victims were slain. All these, as also the brazen pillars of the portal, and many smaller articles, such as pots, bowls, shovels, were cast by Hiram. They were highly ornamented with flowers and animal forms, and testify to the high state of Tyrian art and skill.



Fig. 6. — Assyrian Sacrificial Vessel. (From a relief at Khorsabad.)

The temple was in building seven and one-half years; the royal residence and state edifices required thirteen. The latter raised Solomon's fame for regal state and glory; the former immortalized his reign. The temple secured for the national religion that centre of influence which David sought to give it when he removed the ark to Jerusalem. Long before it subdued the local altars, it must have tended to shape and restrain the thought and worship that there found utterance. It played a most effective part in all the after development of Hebrew and Jewish theology, and still asserts its powerful presence in the thought and speech of Christendom. Some, not all, of this was contemplated by the builder. No doubt the temple formed but a part of the greater plan in which the king's palace and other state buildings occupied a larger space, and probably required a greater outlay of treasure as well as of time. But we are not on that account to regard it (with Stade) as primarily a mere royal chapel. It was the royal sanctuary because it was the sanctuary of the capital. As Jerusalem was the chief city of the nation, so the temple was designed to be its chief (though not sole) sanctuary, and to furnish a suitable abode for the national palladium, the ark of Jahveh. David had wished to build it, and had set

aside considerable treasure for its erection. The building of it was for Solomon an inherited duty. Local proximity and unity of plan were not designed to circumscribe the temple sphere, but rather to enhance the glory and nationalize the importance of the royal abode.

Solomon's reign was long, although the forty years ascribed to it recur too frequently to command unqualified confidence. Of the events of its later years we are not informed. Probably most of the fortifying, commercial, and seafaring undertakings, already spoken of, belong to this time. Culture and knowledge undoubtedly advanced rapidly during this reign. The king himself cultivated natural history, — perhaps rather with an eye to its wealth of parabolic suggestiveness and instruction than in any other way, — lyrical poetry, and that species of practical-life philosophy which the Hebrews called 'wisdom.' How much of what he produced, whether orally or in writing, survives, is doubtful, — certainly not more than fragments. What we read concerning Solomon's idolatries in his old age lacks verisimilitude. The passage in which it occurs (1 Kings xi. 1–13) shows the hand of a late writer, who in this way indicates what he thinks must have been the cause of the subsequent disruption of the kingdom. He found a starting-point for his inference in the fact that Solomon had built an altar for one or more of his foreign wives.

The empire of David was not destined to continue. Its founder's career of conquest, however necessary at the time for the national security, had made it but too easy and natural for Solomon to pursue a course of kingly activity opposed alike to the genius of the people and to its divinely ordained mission among nations. Israel was not set apart to be a feeble Egypt, Assyria, or Phoenicia, but to be the hearth of a great religious and ethical evolution. The reign of Solomon did not close without a premonition of the coming change which should turn Israel's face more nearly towards its proper goal. An Ephraimite named Jeroboam, son of Nebat, whom Solomon had appointed supervisor of the tribute service of his own tribe, 'lifted up his hand against the king.' This is all we are directly told; but it doubtless means, that, finding the Ephraimites discontented because of their forced labor, he raised the standard of revolt. He was overcome, and fled to Egypt, where a new dynasty

had arisen in the person of Shishak (Sheshonk) I. Solomon finished his reign in peace, and was succeeded by his son Rehoboam. That was the longed-for opportunity of the discontented. Jeroboam, as soon as he heard of the accession of Rehoboam, returned home; but he seems to have borne himself with modest retirement (1 Kings xii. 20). How the opposition first manifested itself we are not informed. Communications may be supposed to have passed between the king and the reform party, as a result of which a meeting at Shechem was appointed (Fig. 7), to which both parties repaired

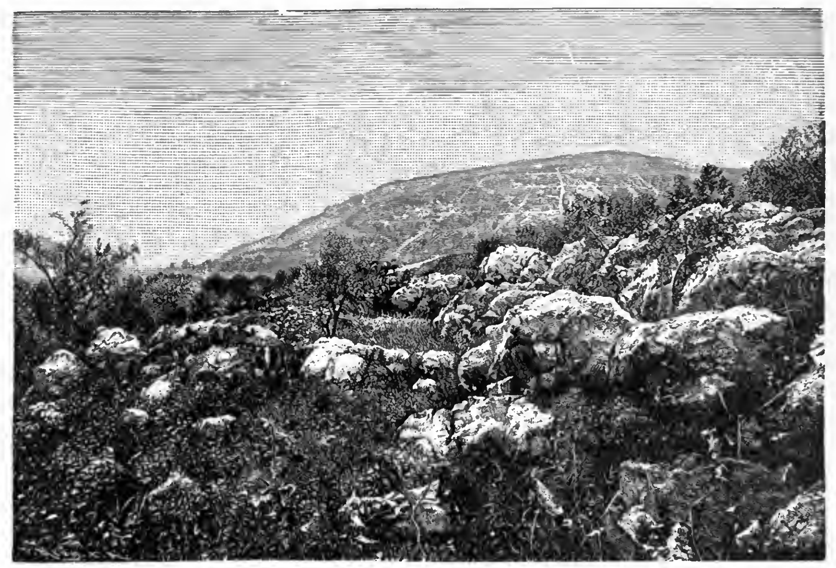


FIG. 7. — Mount Gerizim, near Shechem.

in the expectation of a peaceful adjustment (cf. 1 Kings xii. 1). The single demand made by the assembly was not unreasonable. They wanted the heavy burden of taxes and labor imposed by the late king lightened. Solomon's glory had cost the people too dearly. There were other grievances felt by sections and classes of the citizens. Ephraim had never been wholly reconciled to a Judaean dynasty. But Ephraim was not all Israel, although many of the other tribes shared its feeling. There is no reason to doubt that the prophets, and multitudes under their influence, looked with grave distrust upon the direction given to the national life under Solo-

mon's supremacy. They deplored its secular character, which even the temple might seem to subserve rather than counteract. But that, too, was, so to speak, a minority complaint, and withal likely to be obviated as a consequence of diminished royal revenues. These considerations had their influence, and contributed largely to the ultimate determination; but the one point brought forward in the conference was the oppressiveness of the royal exactions. There was a general demand for relief as the condition of continued submission to the rule of the house of David. The king requested three days for consideration. At their expiration he returned, not for further parley, nor even with a temperately argued refusal, but, in an offensive manner that precluded any compromise, with the blustering announcement that, instead of diminishing, he will increase, the burden of which they complain. This, in the face of sage advice from his father's old councillors, at the instigation of his own inexperienced advisers, who had little liking for a return to anything like the simple court life of Saul's time, and some of whom may have honestly felt that the popular conception of the royal office as that of leader rather than autocrat would induce a relapse into the semi-barbarism of the not-distant past. And both they and Rehoboam made the not uncommon mistake of thinking that loud words carry great power. The result was inevitable. The rule of Rehoboam was rejected throughout the land, except in Judah, the king's own tribe, and a small contiguous portion of Benjamin. Jeroboam was seated on a new throne, — the one Davidic kingdom had divided into two, never to be reunited. The event destroyed Israel's future as a state among states. It was the first step toward the destruction of the nation as such. The neighboring subject peoples, one after another, shook off the yoke. Hebrew autonomy henceforth found its guaranty only in the policy or jealousy of the great powers of the Tigris or the Nile; but the Hebrew people was set free to work, albeit frequently in strangely devious ways, the religious salvation of the world.

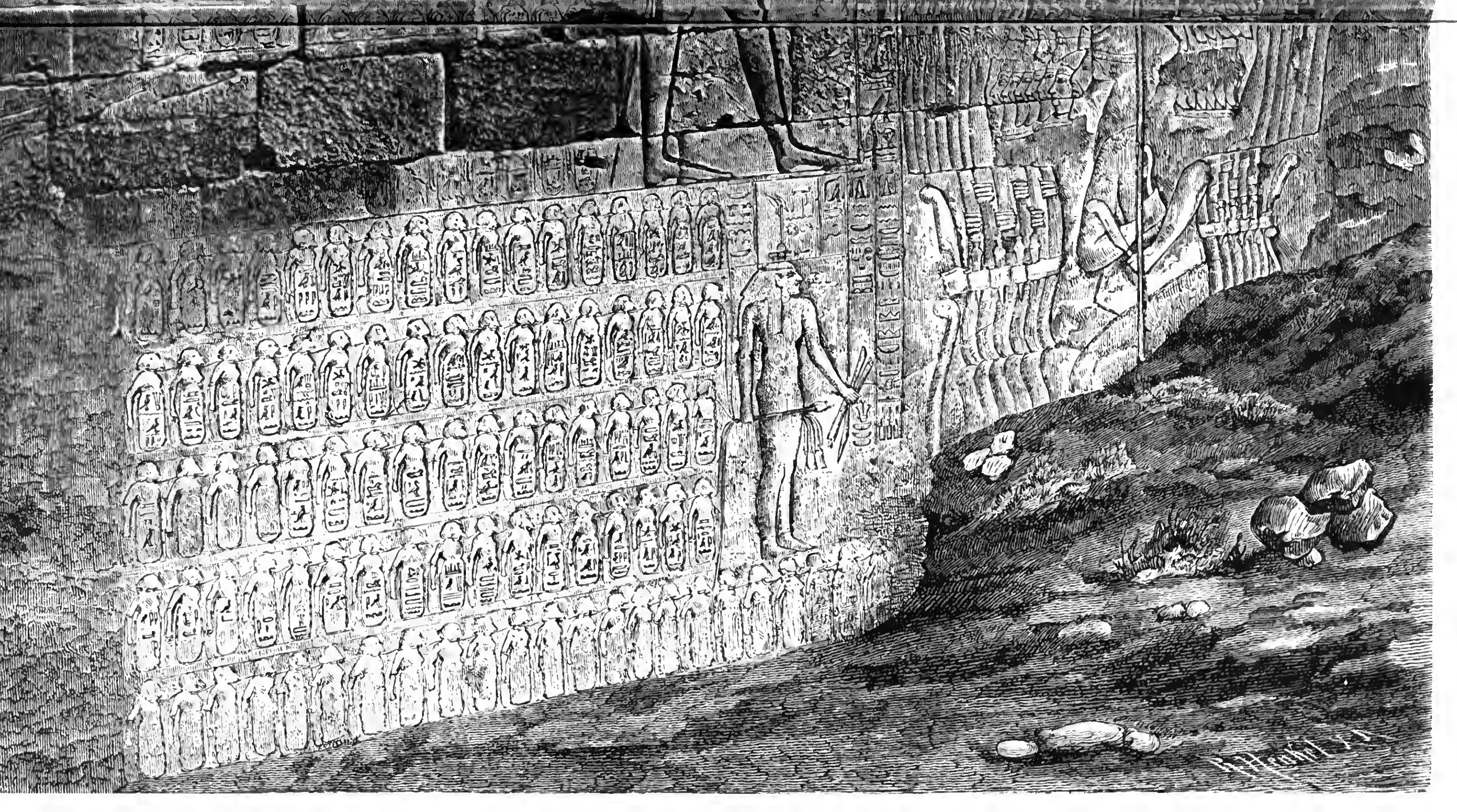
Concerning the reigns of the first pair of rival kings, both dating from about 937 B.C., we know but little. That there should be war between them 'all their days' was to be expected, since Rehoboam had evidently not inherited much of his father's wisdom; but it was

probably of a desultory, not very strenuous, character. The great disaster of the period was the invasion of Shishak, king of Egypt, in Rehoboam's fifth year. It extended to Israel as well as Judah, as we learn from a bas-relief in the temple of Karnak (PLATE III.), on which many places in the northern kingdom appear among those captured. There is more reason to believe that displeasure toward Jeroboam influenced Shishak, than, as frequently supposed, friendship for him. Most likely neither enmity nor friendship had much to do with it. The invasion was a common plundering expedition, directed toward the most promising quarter. The almost impregnable fortress of Jerusalem seems to have been entered without difficulty. The treasures of the temple and royal castle were carried off. According to the writer of Chronicles, Rehoboam fortified and garrisoned many places, especially on the southern and southwestern borders of his kingdom; but he gives no hint of the time or occasion. Rehoboam reigned seventeen years.

Jeroboam made Shechem his place of residence, and claiming control also of Moab and Ammon he strongly fortified Penuel on the east side of the Jordan. The most important measure of this king was the establishment of two state altars, at which Jahveh was worshipped under the symbol of a golden steer. Both were located in places of ancient sanctity, — one at Bethel, the other at Dan. Festive pilgrimages to more or less distant shrines were always in vogue among the Hebrews. Solomon's temple had already become a point of attraction. Although itself of recent date, it stood on ground of older sanctity, and held the ark of Jahveh, the oldest and most truly national of Israel's sacred possessions. Visits of this kind by subjects of his own to the capital of the south troubled Jeroboam. They might awaken a desire for reunion. Bethel and Dan were therefore made as attractive as possible, and provided with sensible symbols of Jahveh's power; for large masses of the people clung tenaciously to image worship in some form. The steer symbol seems to have been an especial favorite. It was not improbably that adopted by Micah, and therefore at home in Dan, and greatly missed when no longer there. Tradition told even of a golden steer set up in the desert of Sinai. Jeroboam's image worship was no innovation. It was characteristic of many a 'high


5-8a

PLATE III.



King Shishak presents to the Goddess of the Theban Nome cartouches containing the names of places captured in Palestine.

Bas-relief on the southern exterior wall of the vestibule of the Temple of Amun at Thebes.

History of All Nations, Vol. II., page 58.

place'; and the steer image was probably not unusual. Jeroboam seizes on the popular reverence for ancient sacred places, the almost ineradicable passion for some sensible representation of the invisible God, the satisfaction found in crowded assemblies, numerous priests, and elaborate ritual, to offset the attractions of the temple. It is not apostasy from Jahveh worship, but a decidedly retrograde movement from the imageless worship of the temple. It gave public sanction to a form of worship which strongly tended to obscure the root distinction between the religion of Israel and that of its neighbors, and could not fail of ultimate condemnation by the prophets.

In the eighteenth year of Jeroboam's reign (919 B.C.), Abijam succeeded his father Rehoboam on the throne of Judah. He died, and in the twentieth year of Jeroboam was succeeded by his son Asa, who distinguished himself by efforts to purge the national religion from alien accretions. The statement that he successfully resisted an invasion by Zerah the Cushite is found only in Chronicles (2 Chron. xiv. 9). Cush cannot refer to Ethiopia in this passage, but to a district in northern Arabia, to which there are other references in the Old Testament, so that the story, if authentic, deals with a danger that threatened from a district not far distant. The lingering war between Israel and Judah took on a more serious character in this reign. Baasha, the third king of Israel, — who had murdered Nadab, the son and successor of Jeroboam, and usurped the throne, — was apparently a capable, warlike prince, who made Tirzah his residence, and reigned twenty-four years (914–890). In order to bring Asa to terms, he fortified Ramah in Benjamin, about half-way between Bethel and Jerusalem, and thus cut off Asa's communications northward. In this strait Asa bought Ben-hadad of Damascus to invade the northern parts of Israel, — an inglorious expedient as between nations of one blood, which even dire necessity could scarcely justify. Asa's long reign of forty-one years outlasted those of Baasha and three of his successors. Elah, the son of Baasha, came to the throne in the twenty-sixth year of Asa, and in the twenty-seventh was murdered by Zimri, one of the commanders of Elah's chariot force. Zimri reigned only seven days, — long enough, however, to destroy 'all the house of Baasha.' But while he was thus engaged, the army elected their general, Omri, king, and

marched to Tirzah to dethrone Zimri. As soon as the city was either actually or virtually taken, he set fire to the royal palace, and perished in the flames. The choice of the army, however, was opposed by a party of the people, who supported the pretensions of a certain Tibni, so that Omri became undisputed monarch only in the thirty-first year of Asa (884 B.C.), after a civil war of some four years. He appears to have been a person of intelligence and energy. He built Samaria, from his time on the capital of the northern kingdom. He also reduced the Moabites again to a tributary condition. But he had to contend against the power of Damascus, which was too strong for him, took some cities from him, and forced him to cede a quarter of Samaria to Damascene merchants (1 Kings xx. 34). It is not improbable that he purchased Assyrian protection against Damascus; for in the Assyrian inscriptions the land of northern Israel is uniformly designated as the 'land of Omri.' He died after a reign of twelve years, and was succeeded by his son Ahab. About the same time Jehoshaphat, son of Asa, became king of Judah. But here this chapter must close. From this time until the exile, the interest of Hebrew history turns more and more exclusively on its religious development, which in a work of so general a character as the present cannot be adequately handled. Its political side is so deeply affected, both directly and indirectly, by the Assyrian power, whose appearance within the Hebrew horizon has just been adverted to, as to make its further separate treatment impracticable without many undesirable repetitions.

CHAPTER III.

THE ASSYRIANS IN SYRIA AND PALESTINE.

THERE is in the British Museum a black basalt obelisk of Shalmaneser II. (859–825 B.C.), found at Calah (Fig. 8). This monument is five feet high, and, besides reliefs with inscriptions, bears a cuneiform inscription of 190 lines, which contains a summary of the events during thirty-one years of the king's reign. Numerous portions of the record have been supplemented by other memorials of this king, especially by the inscriptions on the stele of Kurkh (south-east of Diarbekir, on the right bank of the Tigris) and on the bulls of the palace of this king. His expeditions into Syria were repeated for several years in succession; for as it was not then the custom to remain in winter quarters, the interrupted campaign had to be renewed each year from the point at which it left off. The land of Akhuni, the son of Adini, stretching along the east bank of the Euphrates (probably the country of the 'children of Eden' mentioned in Isa. xxxvii. 12 and 2 Kings xix. 12) was first reduced to peace by the capture of its king in Tel-Bursip (Birejik). After passage of the Euphrates, Katazil of Kummukh was plundered of silver, gold, oxen, sheep, and wine, while Dabig, in the territory of Akhuni, west of the Euphrates, Birtu in the land of the Chatti, probably opposite Birejik, and (in the following year) Pethor, at the influx of the Sajur, were besieged. The princes Mutallu of Gurgum, Khani of Samal, and Sapalulmi of Patin, all within the bounds of the former Hittite kingdom, were slain in a great fight, of which a memorial was erected on Mount Amanus, and tribute was levied even from the coast country of Phoenicia. Meanwhile Shalmaneser fought also against the peoples in Kurdistan, whence he passed down the Belik to Tel-sha-apli, perhaps the city otherwise named Rakkah. Here he crossed the Euphrates, and struck the road to Syria. Adad-idri of Damascus, the Ben-hadad II. of the



FIG. 8—The Obelisk of Shalmaneser. Black basalt. London, British Museum.



Fig. 8, A.—Moabite stone recording the victories of King Mesha of Moab over Israel.

History of All Nations, Vol. II., page 63.

Bible, had assailed Samaria, but had been defeated by Ahab at Aphek (now Fik), to the east of the Lake of Tiberias. On the approach of the Assyrians we find both these princes, as well as Irkhulina of Hamath, Adonibaal of Byblos, and the kings of the Chatti and of the Mediterranean coast, united to resist them. The confederates were put to flight (852 B.C.) at Karkar, near Hamath. Some time later a feud broke out between Ahab and Ben-hadad; and the former was slain in fight (851) before Ramah in Gilead, which Ben-hadad had seized.

Omri and Ahab had held the land of Moab in subjection. After Ahab's death Mesha of Moab withheld his tribute, and fought against the united forces of Israel and Judah. The renowned stone of Mesha, with an inscription in Moabitish tongue, discovered in Dibon, north of Arnon, by the missionary Klein, records his deeds. (Fig. 8 *A*.) The inscription is the oldest of all engraved in Phoenician (Old Hebrew) characters, and is, irrespective of its historical and philological interest, of the highest importance for the history of writing, because its alphabet is the mother of the oldest Greek (Cadmean), the Iberian in Spain, the Himyaritic, Indic, nay, in the last result, of all the alphabets to-day used on the globe, with the solitary exception of the Chinese and the systems derived from it. The inscription has been translated and explained in numerous papers in specialist periodicals, as well as in separate treatises. Mesha tells that he had erected to his god Chemosh a *bama* ('high place'), out of gratitude for the deliverance of Moab from her enemies, after the anger of the god had permitted the forty years' oppression of the land through Omri and his son Ahab, who had established himself in Madeba. He then describes his exploits against the house of Omri. Mesha stormed Ataroth (now Attarus, southwest of Ma-in), north of the Arnon, slaughtered the garrison, and devoted the booty, with the vessels of Jahveh, to Chemosh. In like manner Jahaz was retaken; and the Horonaim, or Edomites, who had allied themselves with Joram of Israel and Jehoshaphat of Judah, were attacked. Mesha enumerates the fortified cities he had rebuilt, as Aroer, and other improvements, as the building of a road over the Arnon. It is interesting to compare the inscription with the report in the third chapter of 2 Kings. The two accounts

appear to have been colored in the interests of the opposing contestants.

Shalmaneser undertook a campaign on the upper Tigris, where he set up a memorial at Egil, still extant. He then restored the Babylonian king Marduk-nadin-shum to the throne, from which he had been driven by a half-brother. The Syrian war was then renewed; and the same leaders appeared against him, to be again overthrown. In the following years we see the Assyrian hosts again in the east, in the land of Namri (on the farther side of the Zab, and southeast from Suleimanieh, in the plain of Shahrizur), where a Babylonian prince ruled. Hazael, the murderer and successor of Ben-hadad, seems to have fought, not without success, against the Assyrians; but after a renewed struggle he was compelled to pay tribute. In Israel, in the meantime, the Fifth Dynasty had come to the throne with Jehu. As he was a usurper, the first thing he had to do was to exterminate the house of Ahab; for which, under the guidance of Elisha, his hate of the service of Baal was used as a pretext. On Hazael renewing hostilities against the Assyrians, Shalmaneser advanced against Damascus, wasted its plantations, and in Hauran, the granary of Syria, 'he destroyed countless cities, plundered and burned them.' The king of Tyre, of Sidon, and Jehu sent tribute (842). When Hazael recovered himself, he gave vent to his wrath against Jehu, and — Shalmaneser being occupied elsewhere — overspread Israel with war, making conquest of all its territory east of the Jordan. He attacked Judea also, and Jerusalem was saved only by the surrender of the treasures of the temple and palace (2 Kings x. 32; xii. 17).

Shalmaneser, after driving King Yanzu from Namri, turned himself against the land of the Parsua, probably in the district of the Shirwan-Rud and Zamakan; it must not be confounded with the later Persia. Hence he descended into the plain of western Media, and erected a stele in Kharkhar, the capital of the country of the same name, and which probably occupied the site of the modern Kirmanshahan. Next year Syria was visited; and the inscriptions report, with drear monotony, the slaughter of warriors, deportation of captives, and cities without number destroyed, plundered, and burned. This time disaster struck Kati of Kui (the coast on the

north of the bay of Issus), whose fortress Timur, with many other places, was burned. The city Tanakun followed next year, which, 'through tribute and scourging,' evaded destruction. Then the herds of the mountaineers, the Cilicians, were plundered; and in Tarsus, which also purchased forbearance, a brother of Kati was set up as king. The next expedition was due to a contest for a throne. In Patin the tributary king, Lubarna, had been murdered, and a usurper, Surri, placed on the throne, the object being, apparently, to shake off the Assyrian yoke. Shalmaneser, on account of his advanced age, sent his field-marshal, Dayan-Asur, to restore order. Surri was executed in Kinalua (Gindarus), and his sons impaled. A statue of the king was set up in the temple of the city. At length the Assyrians directed their attacks against Armenia. The tartan, or commander-in-chief, Dayan-Asur, marched over the Zab to Khubuskia (the country of the Hekkari, in the neighborhood of Julamerk); thence into the land Madakhir, and finally to Manni, in the mountains between Armenia and Media. The king, Udaki, fled from his capital, Zirtu. The tartan marched southeastwards, and, by way of Parsua, returned home. But in a second expedition the Assyrians reached Muzazir (Arsissa, modern Arjish, on the north coast of Lake Van) and Urartu (Armenian, Airarat), in the plain of the Araxes, where they profess to have destroyed fifty cities, without, however, meeting a foe. Then they turned southeastwards, and, making a great circuit through Namri and by Holwan over the passes of the Zagros, again reached the plain. The ascendancy of Assyria over these distant lands consisted, in point of fact, in the preponderance of its military force during its momentary presence, not in a continued occupation. For us the interest in these expeditions is mainly geographical, and in this view they have been repeatedly made the subject of study and investigation.

Shalmaneser built a palace in the capital of Assyria, Calah, which, two hundred years later, was destroyed by Esarhaddon, who utilized the material for a structure of his own, which he began on the southwest of the terrace. This, however, was never completed, for before that was accomplished Esarhaddon had ceased to reign. The above-named obelisk, from whose inscriptions we have made abstracts, was found among the rubbish of Shalmaneser's pal-

ace (Fig. 8). The uppermost of its five relief bands shows the king with the bow in the left hand, and arrows in the right, and probably on an expedition. Behind him is a eunuch as bow-carrier, and a shield-bearer. Before him a conquered king kisses the dust of





FIGS. 9 and 10. — Two reliefs from the Obelisk of Shalmaneser, representing Jehu paying tribute, B.C. 842. London, British Museum.

his feet, and behind the prostrate figure stand two Assyrian officials. In the centre over him hovers the winged solar disk, as symbol of the god Asur; beside this a circle with a star, the sun. Among the articles of tribute are an equipped horse and two Bactrian camels. The clothing of the men consists of caps with drooping peaks,

short fringed tunics, and shoes turned up at the points. The legend says: "Tribute imposed on Sûa (or Asau) of Gilzan (between the Araxes and Lake Urumiah), silver, gold, lead, bronze utensils, staves for the hand of the king, camels with two humps." In the inscription at Kurkh, horses are mentioned among the booty. The next





FIGS. 11 and 12. — Two reliefs from the Obelisk of Shalmaneser, representing Jehu paying tribute, B.C. 842. London, British Museum.

series of figures (Figs, 9–12) shows the king again, this time without weapons, as if he were at home at Calah, with his umbrella-bearer behind him, and his marshal recognizable by his staff. Before him Jehu kisses the dust, several officers follow, and then, preceded by a man with arms raised aloft suppliantly, the tribute-bringers. The inscription of this relief representing Israelites reads:

"Tribute brought by Jehu, son of Omri (i.e., the Israelite), silver bars, gold bars, a golden cup, a golden amphora, golden goblets, golden pitchers, lead bars, a staff for the hand of the king, spear-shafts." The third row of the conquered shows two-humped camels



Fig. 13. — The Prince of Muzri and his servant. Marble relief from the palace at Nimrud. London, British Museum.

with leaders and drivers, a bull, a bull-headed rhinoceros, an antelope from Afghanistan, an elephant, and two men with an orang-outang and two *hanuman* (*simia entellus*). The men wear diadems and short fringed tunics. Finally follows a great ape with a human

face, probably the *bruh*, or Indian ape (*simia nemestrinus*), and a second, whose face is surrounded by lock-like hair, the maned ape, or *wanderu* (*simia silenus*), both led in chains. The inscription says: "Tribute imposed on the land of Muzri (in northern Syria), camels with two humps, an ox of the river Sakia (an Indian bull), horses (probably wild asses), *pirati* (elephants ?), apes, *udumu*." The dress of the Muzri is very clearly indicated in a relief of Asurnazirpal, on which we see their prince with a servant who leads two apes (Fig. 13). The prince wears a pointed tiara enwound with a scarf, exactly similar to that worn to-day by the Missuri-Kurds of that country. It is worthy of note that the countenance of the prince is of a type quite different from that of his Semitic servant, whose costume is essentially Hittite. The fourth relief of the obelisk shows a background of palms, with a lion, a deer which a second lion attacks from behind, and men with head-bands bringing articles of various kinds in front. The legend says: "Tribute imposed on Marduk-bal-usur of Sukhi (p. 332, Vol. I.). Silver, gold, gold rings, buffalo-horns, staves, antimony, parti-colored woollen stuffs, linen." The fifth and last shows men with head-bands (among them one with pointed shoes) bringing leathern bottles, goblets, pitchers, kettles, and other articles. "Tribute imposed on Garparunda of Patin, silver, gold, lead, bronze, bronze utensils, ivory, and urkarinu-wood (ebony)."

A son of Shalmaneser revolted against his father; but before the death of the latter he was replaced by a younger brother, Samsi-Adad IV. Wars seem to have been carried on without much success against the Nairi and against Gizilbunda (in the region of Zenjan, in the direction of Ghilan), as well as against a confederation of several peoples under the Babylonian Marduk-balatsu-ikbi. A well-preserved stele of this king is in the British Museum.

Adad-Nirari III. (811–783) conquered Mari of Damascus. He cites as lands subdued by him: Siluna in the east, Kib, Illip (in Media, near Hamadan), Kharkhar (Kirmanshahan), Arazias (probably in Ardelan in the district of Sihna), Misu (to the north of the last, on the Jagatu), Madai (northern Media), Gizilbunda, Munna (apparently the same as Manna, in the southeast, on the Median frontier), Parsua, Alabria and Abdadana (in Azerbaijan), Nairi, Andiu

(between Nairi and Manna), the mountain-land towards the great sea (the Persian Gulf); besides the Chatti, Phoenicia with Tyre and Sidon, Israel, Edom, Philistia even to the Mediterranean. These are all lands too distant to be ruled from Assyria, but which had either seen the Assyrian hosts, or, from dread of an invasion, had sent gifts, and temporarily remained at peace. To this reign are to be ascribed the already mentioned (p. 176, Vol. I.) statues of the god Nebo, the god of writing and wisdom, whose worship had been carried from its seat at Borsippa (close to the city of Babylon) to Assyria. On two copies of this statue appears a votive inscription, which, after rehearsing his divine attributes, contains the dedication to Adad-Nirari and the queen Sammuramat (Semiramis?) on the part of Bel-tarsi-iluma, the governor of the city of Calah. The statues, according to the chronological calendars of the Limmu, or governors of Assyrian cities (who, like the Athenian archons, gave their names to the civil year), were set up in the year 789. The fact of Nebo being a Babylonish god has led to the supposition that Sammuramat was a Babylonian princess whom Ramman-Nirari had married from reasons of policy. It has been attempted to identify her with the mythical Semiramis of Ctesias, but unsuccessfully. On the contrary, she is probably the Semiramis mentioned by Herodotus as living five generations (each of 34 years) before Nitocris, and who (and not Nebuchadnezzar) was, according to him, the author of the new Babylon (Babel).

In Judah the priesthood exercised political influence; yet four dynasties, one after the other, came to an end through murder. Joash of Israel, successor of Jehoahaz, son of Jehu, conquered Amaziah of Judah, who, to save his own life, had to surrender Jerusalem. The temple was plundered and the walls razed. Jeroboam II. took advantage of the weak state to which Syria had been reduced by the Assyrians, to make himself master of Moab and Ammon, Coelesyria and Hamath. This gleam of prosperity was quenched by the murder of his son Zachariah by Shallum, who, a month later, met a like fate at the hands of Menahem, who, through inhuman cruelty, compelled himself to be acknowledged (2 Kings xv. 16). The Bible tells of a King Pul of Assyria, who imposed on Menahem a tribute of 1000 talents of silver (over $1,000,000), which had to be raised

by an oppressive tax (738 B.C.). Since no king of this name appears among the Assyrian monarchs, the series of whom for this period is quite complete, it has been supposed that Pul was the Babylonian name of Tiglath-Pileser, who in 731 took the title of King of Babylon; for, in the canon of Ptolemy, Chinzirus and Porus (Pul) began to reign in 729. This supposition becomes probable in view of the facts that, according to the Bible, Menahem and Uzziah were contemporaries of Pul, and, according to the Assyrian inscriptions, of Tiglath-Pileser, and Pul began to reign as king of Babylon along with Khinzir in 731, the next reign beginning in 726. Moreover, Tiglath-Pileser appears as receiving the homage of the Chaldaean Merodach-baladan in 731, and dies in 727. Besides, this Ukinzer is named in Tiglath-Pileser's Nimrud inscription as conquered by the Assyrians. Ukinzer, therefore, was very probably appointed viceroy of Babylon by Porus (Pul), who assumed the Assyrian royal name of Tiglath-Pileser after his usurpation of the imperial throne.

Tiglath-Pileser II. (745–727) wrote his annals on the frieze of his palace in Calah. As this, however, was demolished by Esarhaddon, and its materials used for the construction of his own palace, the annals are found in the latter structure in a sadly damaged condition. In his first year he confirmed the suzerainty of Assyria over northern and southern Babylonia. At this time Babylon was ruled over by Nabonassar, in whose reign there falls the beginning of an era (26th February, 747). This era is associated with no political event, as has been supposed from the fact that a new dynasty has been made to begin with Nabonassar, whom Oppert proposed to identify with Tiglath-Pileser. It is calculated simply by the employment of the Dog-star (canicular) period, beginning 20th July, 1322, and ending 20th July, A.D. 139. The era owes its origin to Hipparchus and Ptolemy, who used it for their astronomical calculations because it admits of the days between two occurrences being reckoned. Moreover, in 747, the first day of Thoth (the Egyptian new year) fell on the 26th July. In 747 the calendar was reformed, and provision was made for the intercalary months as determined by lunations.

After Nabonassar, the canon of Ptolemy gives the name of Nadius, who reigned only two years. Of the above-named Ukinzer

(731–727), the inscription says 'he has been shut up in the city of Sapi, and his land has been laid waste.' Of his successor Ilulaeus (726–722), the inscriptions know nothing: his name is found only on a private document. After the overthrow of Merodach-baladan (in the canon, Mardocempadus), Tiglath-Pileser assumed the title of King of 'Sumir and Akkad' (Babylonia). Not the less, this Chaldaean subsequently gave the Assyrians enough to do. Meanwhile Tiglath-Pileser had to deal with Sarduri of Urartu (Armenia), who had allied himself with a Hittite chief, Matilu, ruling in the region of Agusi (not far from the Orontes); also with Sulumal of Milid, Tarkhulara of Gurgum, and Kustaspi of Kummukh. Their hosts were defeated in Kummukh, and Sarduri was pursued to Turuspa (Van). He sued for peace, and his land was put under a governor. In the east, Tiglath-Pileser extended his conquests over Media. Many geographical names occurring in the inscriptions of this king (as likewise of others) have not yet been identified. Zikrati, which is to be sought for northeast of the Lake Urumiah, and in which the capital Parda, destroyed by Sargon, lay, appears to be the Asagarta (Sagartia) of the Persian inscriptions. The identification of Bit-Barrua with Wera, or Takht-i-Suleiman, in Media, and of the Matti with the Matieni, east of the lake of Urumiah, are also probable.

In Palestine the dissensions ominous of its end continued to prevail without cessation. Menahem's son Pekahiah was assassinated in the first year of his reign by Pekah. Pekah, in turn, submitted to Rezin of Damascus; and the two attacked Ahaz of Judah. After two unsuccessful actions, the Edomites and Philistines stormed forth against Judaea; and nothing remained for Ahaz but to take the fatal step of calling on the Assyrians for help. Tiglath-Pileser invaded Israel in B.C. 734. Pekah shut himself up in Samaria, and let all be wrested from him save Ephraim. The Philistines, in their terror, paid tribute; and their king, Hannon, fled to Egypt. After two years' siege of Damascus, Rezin was taken and slain (732). Once more a rising of the Tyrians under Mutton had to be put down, while Hoshea, the murderer of Pekah, was placed on the throne of Israel, — the authority of Assyria over Syria and Palestine being thus firmly established. Tiglath-Pileser names the following princes as

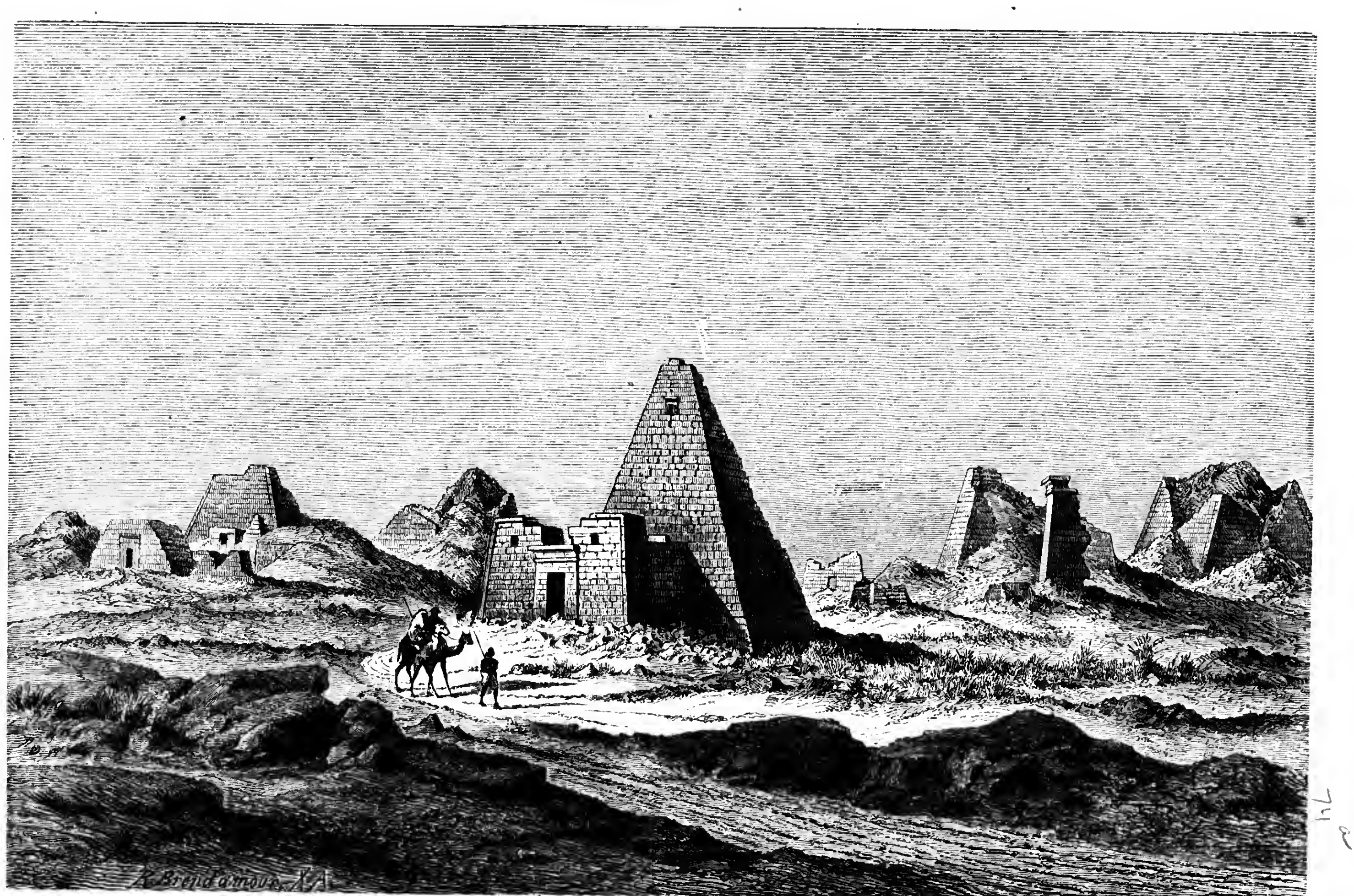
tributary to him: Kushtashpi, of Kummukh; Rezin, of Damascus; Menahem, of Samaria; Hiram, of Tyre; Sibittibel, of Byblos; Urik, of Kui; Pisiris, of Carchemish; Iniilu, of Hamath; Panammu, of Samal; Tarkhulara, of Gurgum; Sulumal, of Meliddu; Dadilu, of Kaska (Colchis, north of the Upper Euphrates); Wassurmi, of Tabal; Ushkhitti, of Tuna; Urballa, of Tukhan; Tukhammi, of Ishtunda; Urimmi, of Khushim(?); Zabibi, Queen of Arabia. To these, in another list are added: Matanbaal, of Arvad; Sanib, of Ammon; Salman, of Moab (cf. Hos. x. 14); Mitinti, of Ascalon; Joahaz (Ahaz), of Judah; Kaushmelek, of Edom; Musi, . . . ; Hannon, of Gaza.

Shalmaneser IV. reigned only from 727 to 722 B.C. According to the few notices we have of him, he exacted tribute of Hoshea, who thereupon entered into alliance with So, the king of Musri, which in this connection (II. Kings xvii. 4), as in many other passages in the Old Testament narratives, does not designate Egypt, but a district in northwestern Arabia, frequently mentioned in cuneiform inscriptions of various periods; for this the king of Israel was seized, and Samaria was besieged by the Assyrians. Shalmaneser's death left the capture of the city to his successor, Sargon.

Egypt had, in the time of Rehoboam, made great progress under Shishak in recovering its prestige in Asia, but its history at home assumes an unpleasant character. The Pharaohs, in view of the excessive power of the priesthood, had come to confer the posts of influence upon royal princes, instead of on priests. In time principalities, more or less independent, developed themselves, whose revolts tasked the Pharaohs. During the time of the Twenty-third, or Tanite, Dynasty,—some fifty years,—we find twenty sovereigns, and the names of four of these are surrounded with royal shields. Tafnekht, from Nuter by Canopus, overthrew a number of these princelings, who had shut themselves up in their strong castles with Libyan mercenaries; but the rest called in the aid of the kings of Ethiopia, residing in Napata on Mount Barkal, who had grown to power in the times of the Twenty-first and Twenty-second Dynasties. The population of these regions was partly Hamitic, partly negro; but the Egyptian element maintained the supremacy till the native gradually took the upper hand. These kings were ready enough to press forward into

Upper Egypt; nay, Piankhi, owing to the divided state of authority in Egypt, succeeded in compelling the surrender of the city Sesun (Hermopolis), where a petty king named Hemart had fortified himself; he also, after several engagements, captured Memphis. In Heliopolis, Piankhi offered sacrifice, and caused homage to be paid to himself in Athribis. This conquering expedition is described on a lately found granite stele on Mount Barkal. But Ethiopia was far distant; and the troubles following on the death of Piankhi gave the Egyptians courage, especially as they were successful in driving the Ethiopian forces out of their country. Bakenranf (Bocchoris), probably the son of Tafnekht, the only king of the Twenty-fourth Dynasty, understood how to maintain, in the field, the honor of the royal house of Saïs against the petty princes. But the Ethiopians again approached. Their king Sabaco (Shabaka) defeated Bakenranf, captured and burned him as a rebel in Saïs. Sabaco assumed the royal dignity, and founded the Twenty-fifth or Ethiopian Dynasty, consisting of three kings. He continued the princelings as governors, cared for the welfare of the state, and took an interest in beautifying its cities, especially Bubastis and Thebes. It was customary until Winckler pointed out that Misraim in the Bible was used for the Arabian province Musri as well as for Egypt, to identify this Sabaco with So the "king of Misraim," on whom Hoshea called for help; but the view above suggested, that the Arabian "Misraim" (or Musri) is meant, fits in much better with the situation. After this dynasty had to abandon Egypt, it continued to rule over Napata. Later, in the time of the Persians, the royal residence was changed to Meroë, near modern Bejerauieh in Dar-Shendy, where two groups of Pyramids (Plate IV.) and the ruins of a temple still stand. The priesthood had the predominant power in this state, which, by its widely extended commerce and high culture, had attained great influence in East Africa, till they were stripped of it by King Ergamenes in the time of Ptolemy II. (Philadelphus).

PLATE IV.



The Pyramids of Meroë

History of All Nations, Vol. II., page 74.

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CHAPTER IV.

THE SARGONIDAE.

SARGON II., the successor of Shalmaneser IV., who reigned from the spring of 721 to the summer of 705 B.C., was a usurper, but none the less the ruler of Assyria whose warlike achievements were the mightiest, and whose edifices were the most magnificent, of all. The royal residence, or palace, was removed to a spot about nine miles north of Nineveh on the banks of the Khosr-Su, which falls into the Tigris opposite Mosul. The modern village of Khorsabad marks the site. Sargon's inscriptions are extensive, and the most important are those that were set up in two halls of the palace. Earlier editions of Botta and Oppert have now been supplemented by Winckler, who brought out a most careful publication of the texts in question, as well as those inscribed on the bulls or sphinxes of the palace-gates, and smaller inscriptions that have been found on the floor-slabs and elsewhere in the palace. It is to be noted that in Nimrud likewise, where Sargon first resided, and in Cyprus, inscriptions of this king have been found. It goes without saying that passages of the inscriptions are discussed in all works on Assyria.

The annals begin with a summary of the achievements of Sargon, and specify that he was chosen by the kings — he was not a royal prince — who had interpreted the darkness over Harran favorably for him, and had settled matters definitely relative thereto. The allusion is to the eclipse of the moon, 19th March, 721, mentioned in the Almagest, and on which, with two other dates, the calculation of the era of Nabonassar is based. Immediately on his accession the affairs of Israel were also settled conclusively. The city of Samaria was captured; 27,280 people of the better classes were carried off into slavery in Assyria, according to 2 Kings xvii. 6 to Halah, probably in the region of the Belik, or river of Harran, to Gozan on the Chaboras, and to Media. The land was placed under Assyrian

governors, and a tax laid on it as on Assyria. Israel was virtually incorporated with Assyria, and ceased to exist as a nation. The Assyrians sent colonists into the country, who brought their religion with them,—people out of Babylon, Cuthah, Hamath, and Sippar, with their idols, the Succoth-Benoth (a corruption, perhaps, for Zarpanit), Nergal, Nibhaz, and Tartak, Ashimah, and Adrammelech and Anammelech, to whom children were burned. People from East Media, also, — Aribi (probably near Nehavend), — were transplanted into Samaria. One by one Sargon subdued the princes ruling on his frontiers. Hannon of Gaza was seized and brought to Assyria; an army of Sabaco was defeated on the Egyptian frontier. Azuri of Ashdod was hounded forth, and his brother Akhimit enthroned as vassal. But he also was driven out, and compelled to give place to Yaman. Sargon, therefore, took possession of the city, and by the appointment of a governor put an end to the monarchy. Yaman fled to "Misraim" (by which again the province in northwestern Arabia is meant), but was delivered up by So. In Babylonia, Merodach-baladan, who in virtue of an alliance with Elam and Syria (king Hezekiah, too, was won over), hoped to assail Assyria, was overthrown. Babylon and many cities fell into the hands of Sargon; and, after a second defeat, Merodach-baladan disappeared from the scene (709 B.C.). Babylonia fell under a governor; later, Sargon named his son Sennacherib as viceroy. The Medes had shaken off the Assyrian sway, and fortified themselves in their mountains. Sargon boasts of having placed forty-five cities under his officers. The Median districts and places — Evistani, Uriakku, Rimanuta, Upuria, Uyadane, Pustis, Agazi, Ambanda (bordering Aribi on the east), Dananu, Parnusiti, Utirna, are cited as conquered. The Medes in Kharkhar (Kirmanshahan) had put themselves under Dalta of Ellipi; but Sargon besieged the city of Kharkhar, and prevented the extension of Dalta's power. He compelled, also, the Median tribes, among them the Saparda (in southern Media, in the neighborhood of Elam), to do him homage. On a revolt, Sargon besieged the cities Tel-Akhitub, Kindau, Zaria, Bit-Bagaya; strengthened Kharkhar, which he named Kar-Sharrukênu ('Sargon's castle') and established a line of fortresses to keep the Medians in check. On Dalta's death his sons Nibie and Ishpabara strove for the succession. The elder was supported

by Sutruk-Nakhunte of Elam, the other called on Sargon for help. Sargon sent an army, and Nibie fled to the mountain fastness Marubishti, on the frontier of Elam, but was captured and led off to Assyria. His brother remained as a vassal prince. More important than these successes was the subjugation of the west. Here Tarkhunazi of Kammanu (Cappadocia) was driven out of Meliddu (Malatieh), and replaced by an Assyrian governor. The kingdom of Tarkhulara of Gurgum, with the city of Markasi, was annihilated, and the people transferred to Assyria. "I carried off," says Sargon, "the treasures of Kaska (Colchis on the Upper Euphrates), Tabal (between Cappadocia and Cilicia), and Cilicia. I drove forth Mita, king of the Moschi (between Kaska and Tabal). In the second year (720–719) Ilubidi (or Yahubidi, as a variant form of the name usually read), who usurped the rule over Hamath, fortified himself in the city, stirred up against me Arpad, Simirra (southeast from Aradus, I. Chron. i. 16, and Gen. x. 18), Damascus, and Samirina (probably Samaria). I took and burned Karkar, captured Ilubidi, tortured and put to death those who had done wrong. Pisiris of Carchemish allied himself (717) with Mita of Mushke (Moschi). I raised my hands to Asur, my lord; I captured him and his family, and laid hands on his treasures. I caused him to lie in iron chains, and took possession of the silver and gold in his palace. I transplanted him and the inhabitants of Carchemish to Assyria. I took from him 50 war-chariots, 200 horses, and 3000 footmen (?), and extended my kingdom in this way. I put the city under my governor." In the time of Sennacherib this governor was named Bel-shimi-ani (c. 690). The last fragmment of the old Hittite kingdom, which, from the time of Rameses III., had fallen apart into independent petty monarchies, passed now into Assyria. The Moschan, Mita, must have regained his freedom, and been restored as a vassal; for in 709 B.C. it is reported that the governor of Kui had attacked Mita. He had come with his chariots and soldiers over difficult paths (through the Taurus), had taken 2000 men, stormed and destroyed two fortresses on inaccessible heights, and Mita had tendered his submission.

Later we see him in alliance with Ambaris of Tabal, who was believed to have been won over by his marriage with an Assyrian princess and the grant of Bit-Buritis, a part of Cilicia, and with

Ursa of Armenia. Sargon conquered Tabal, and here also placed a governor. Nevertheless, parts of the land remained independent, as Shinukhtu, whose king, Kiakku, was indeed captured, but which was granted to another Hittite prince, Matti of Atun (probably Tyana). Esarhaddon also had to confirm Mugallu of Tabal in his dominion, after taking his daughter into his harem. The Hittite Meliddu also, as it appears, fell in 712 B.C. Here Tarkhunazi defended himself bravely. He had betaken himself to the fortress Tul-Garimmu on the frontiers of Meliddu and Tabal (probably the biblical Tubal), but this was taken. Five thousand prisoners were made, —among them the king with his family,—and deported to Assyria, and the fortress placed under a governor with a body of Suti archers (guards) from the east bank of the Tigris. Ten fortresses were built on the frontiers of Meliddu. Later, Tel-Garimmu was destroyed by Sennacherib. In Gurgum Mutallu had revolted against his father. Sargon came in aid, and the land was incorporated with Assyria. Kummukh, whose king had joined himself to Argistis of Armenia, was punished by a raising of its tribute, but retained its independence. Of all the Hittite states, Cilicia longest maintained its freedom. Although Sennacherib and Esarhaddon had won victories, Asurbanipal says that Sandasharme of Cilicia, who had never been subject to his ancestors, had given him his daughter for wife (666). Under the Persians, also, Cilicia maintained an honorable, almost a sovereign, position under its ruler or Syennesis. On the contrary, Cappadocia, the last refuge of the Hittites as a people, was exposed to the ravages of the Cimmerians, and became the scene of their dispersion or annihilation. Later a Persian people, the Katpatuka (Cappadocians), were introduced as a colony into the partially depopulated land, and lived under the Achaemenian dynasty, so that in the ancient records we meet with many evidences of Persian influence. Closely bound up with the Cilicians was the island of Cyprus (Assyrian, Yatnana), which was occupied by them with a Hittite colony earlier than by the Phoenicians. Even on the site of old Citium (Larnaka), Mas-Latrie, in 1846, discovered a stele of Sargon (now in Berlin) in whose inscription Sargon gives a short account of his achievements, and of the tribute which seven kings of the island had sent to him at Babylon.

At the other end of the kingdom, Khumbanigash of Elam attacked the Assyrians, and obviously with some success, for Sargon only reports he had defeated him. This land was not conquered till the time of Asurbanipal. Finally, Armenia claimed Sargon's attention. In Manna, Iranzu was dead, and his son Aza wished to live on good terms with the Assyrians. But Ursa of Urartu (Hratshea of the Armenian list of kings) conspired with the princes of Umildish (in the region of Bayazid and Maku), Zikirtu (Sagartia), Misiandi, and the nobles in Manna, and drove forth Aza, in order to set up his brother Ulusunu in consideration of his giving up certain fortresses. Sargon claims to have won these strong places. Bagadatti, prince of Umildish, was seized and flayed. Mitatti of Zikirtu escaped, but his city, Parda (somewhere in the district of Marand), was burnt. Ulusunu he had to leave on the throne. Even of the chiefs of Karallu and Allabra (between Daghestan and Ghilan), the one was flayed, the other deported to Hamath. Another confederate of Ursa, Urzana of Muzazir, Sargon drove forth, stormed his city, captured his family, and plundered his palace. Urzana's signet-cylinder, with the winged genius clutching two ostriches by the neck, is in the Hague. Sargon plundered also the temple of its gods Haldis and Bagbartu, and its holy utensils. This temple is represented on a relief-tablet (Fig. 14), and is interesting for its decoration with metal shields and the statue of a cow with its calf standing before it, as well as for the great purification vessels (brazen seas) set up in front of it. Ursa, disheartened by the defeat of his confederates, took his own life with a dagger in his fort.

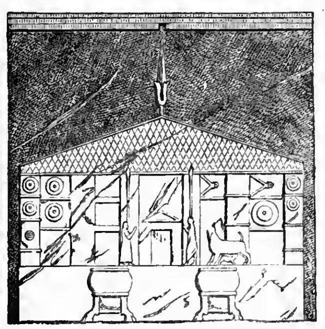


FIG. 14. — Temple of Haldis in Muzazir. (After Botta and Flandin.)

The palace from whose inscriptions the above details are gleaned was erected by Sargon at the foot of the Muzri hills in the city Magganubbu, and named Dur-Sharrukênu ('the fort of Sargon'). The Arabian geographer, Yakut, who died 1229, still names the ruins Sarghun. It was explored by its discoverer, Botta, and by Place and Thomas, and is, in virtue of its fair state of preservation, the most

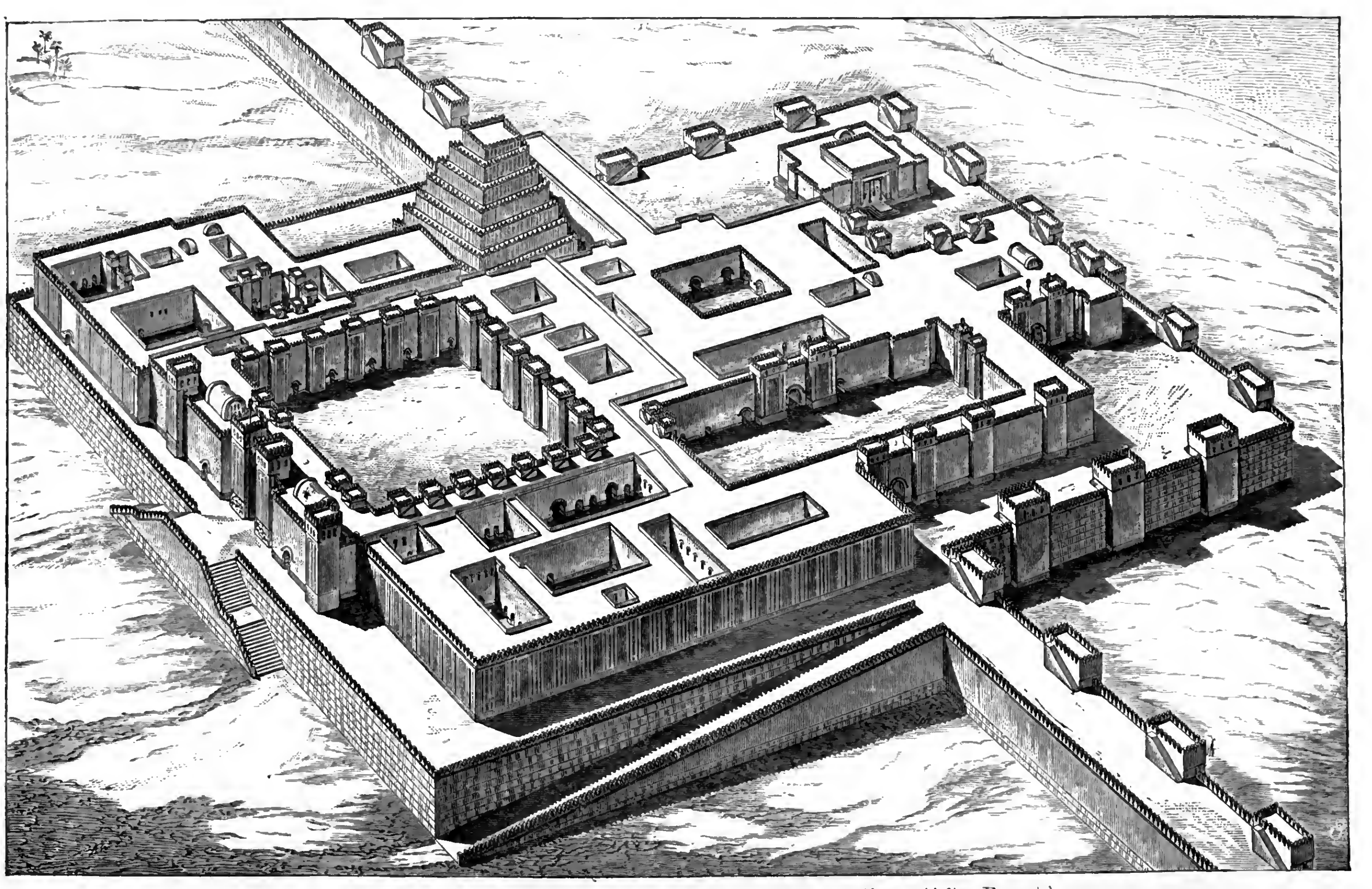


FIG. 15. — The Palace of Sargon at Khorsabad. Reconstruction. (After Perrot.)

important of Assyrian architectural remains (Figs. 15, 16). According to the inscription on the bull-sphinxes at the gate, the circumference of the city walls was $3\frac{1}{3}$ *ner* (a *ner* is 7200 spans), 1 stadium (720 spans), 3 rods (the rod is 6 spans), and 2 spans,

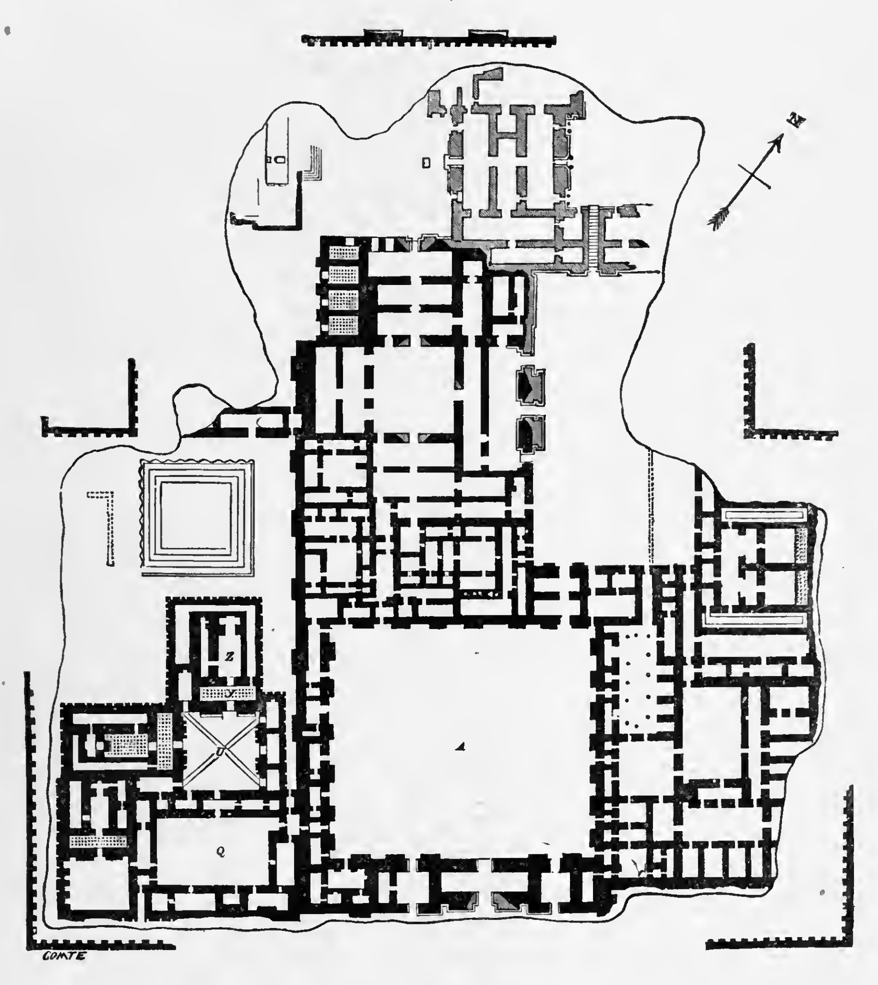


Fig. 16. — **Plan of the Palace of Sargon at Khorsabad. (After Perrot and Chipiez.)**

in all 24,740 spans, or 6790 metres (22,277 feet). In laying out such places, men, probably from superstitious motives, shunned the square. According to Botta's measurements, the northwest and southeast sides of the quadrangle measure 5397 and $5741\frac{1}{2}$ feet

respectively, which again gives the circumference as 22,277 feet, the Assyrian span equalling 0.27425 of a metre, or $10\frac{4}{5}$ inches. The city wall is 79 feet thick, and is built of bricks on a foundation of limestone. The limestone wall is unmortared and double, the intermediate space being filled in with rubble. Three of the walls have two gates each, at irregular distances; the wall of the northwest side, on which the palace lies, has but one. One of each of the two gates was for foot-passengers, the other for vehicles and cattle. The approach through the one gate is smooth, and slopes gently upward; while the other is approached by eleven steps. Each gateway is vaulted, and is nearly 200 feet long, widening, however, in two places into a long transverse recess. The outer entrance of the gateway lies between towers, and those of the gates for the pedestrians are decorated with winged bulls and winged genii in raised work on limestone slabs. The archivolt was ornamented by an arch of enamelled tiles. Before the gate lay a fore-court of great extent. From the representations of city walls on reliefs, one may infer that the upper part had a battlemented breastwork and a number of towers with tower-chambers. The palace stands on a platform raised to the height of the city wall, and of nearly twenty-four acres in area. This artificial mound was constructed by the use of baskets. The part of the platform within the wall is broader than that without. In the foundation of the palace, Place made only one find of consequence. He discovered, sunk into the foundation stone, a small alabaster casket, containing inscribed tablets of gold, silver, copper, lead, tin, and marble. Three of these tablets lie now at the bottom of the Tigris. The gold tablet records that Sargon erected in the city temples of Hea, the builder of all edifices, Sin, Shamash, Adad, and Ninib; that he had in the palace sandal-wood, ebony, cedars, tamarisks, pines, cypresses, samal-cypresses, and pistachio-wood; likewise *ka-amsi* (seal-skins for hangings, like the badger- or seal-skins of Ex. xxvi. 14); and that he had constructed in the gates spiral staircases after the type of the Syrian (to give admission to the walls and upper stories), and laid over them beams of pines and cypresses. The silver tablet mentions also folding-doors of cedar and cypress, sandal-wood, and ebony. The ground area of the palace was ten *aruras*, or over twenty-three acres. The palace comprised

over two hundred apartments and more than thirty open courts. Having regard to the splendor of its façades and the luxury of its chambers, still recognizable in their ruins, to the appropriateness and symmetry of the design (to be appreciated only after the closest study), and to the fact that the whole was completed within the lifetime of Sargon, we are compelled to regard this palace of Khorsabad as one of the most wonderful monuments of architecture. Probably a stairway on the northeast side, and a carriage-way on the northern, conducted from the city to the terrace. After ascending the stairs, one found himself before a magnificent portal, that now remains standing only to the height of the stone tablets with the bull-daemons, but which, through numerous data gleaned from the study of architecture, can be restored. A mighty arch spanned the gate, on both sides of which a tower-like bastion projected, incased by smooth stone slabs, the middle slabs of each bastion showing the figure of the god Ninib in relief. At each side of him, on two other slabs, a winged bull with human head seems to step toward the outside, while in the inner side of the tower-walls still larger bulls seem to advance (Fig. 17). We thus see that six daemons and two gods kept watch at the gate. On either side were side portals, also adorned with bulls. Passing through a wide open space in the gate, we reach a court A (Fig. 16), over two acres in area, on which numerous apartments open to the right and left. Those on the right were the rooms in which the innumerable daily wants of the great household were cared for. Here were found clay vessels with remains of the kitchens and bakery. Bronze rings in the walls suggest the royal stables, long galleries, sheds for carriages and horses. Here, too, were the servants' quarters. Opposite lay magazines, with rooms for the watchmen. These are now termed *khazneh*, or treasury houses. A second congeries of rooms around a court, Q, is accessible through a small room and a long, narrow passage from the royal apartments. This is the harem. Passing through another court, U, surrounded by long apartments, and crossing a long, narrow, transverse chamber, Y, we enter a second space, Z, stretching deeply inwards. This was open above, but vaulted by an arch in its farther extremity, so as to form a sort of alcove. Here, on a daïs, stood the royal bed. Towards the entrance of these private

inner apartments, a bench runs along the walls on both sides, decorated with a mosaic of enamelled tiles. The ground-color is sky-blue, bordered by a band of white rosettes with yellow eyes. On the ground-color is depicted a lion, the hair of whose belly and mane consists of little locks with blue tips. The muscles and eyes are also blue; the teeth and claws, white. After this is an eagle, whose



FIG. 17. — Winged Bull, from the Palace of Khorsabad. (After Perrot and Chipiez.)

blue feathers are edged with yellow. Then comes a bull; next an apple-tree with green leaves and yellow trunk, branches and fruit; and, finally, a yellow barque, with mast, pointed keel, highly elevated prow, and sails. In the wall of the entrance this mosaic panelling is continued, and shows the king and a man with a staff. From the fragments of bronze scales found in conjunction

with the remains of cedar beams and particles of gold, it has been concluded that palm-trees, overlaid with gilded bronze, stood on both sides of the entrance to the sleeping-chamber. At the side of the doorway, before the angle of the bench, were found free-standing statues five feet seven inches in height, representing a god with a tiara, the right hand resting on the belly of a bottle, the left round its neck. Over the tiara lies an abacus, on which one may conjecture a vessel or tripod stood for flowers, or a pan for fire. As the walls of these apartments of the harem are unadorned, the inference is that they were hung with carpets. The floor also, consisting of earth beaten hard, was probably carpeted; and this is corroborated by the fact, that where it is covered with sculptured stone slabs, as on the thresholds, the patterns are those of carpets. Two of the harem inscriptions sunk with the boat which was carrying them down the Tigris, but casts of them were previously made, and have been translated by Oppert. A third group of rooms adjoins the apartments for domestic work on the northwest, and comprises the chambers for the king and the highest officers. These are decorated with paintings on stucco, and connected with them are the great state-apartments. Eight entrances, all lying in a direct line, gave admission from one hall to the other, so as to offer a pictorial perspective. These apartments are all lined with sculptured limestone-slabs, and friezes of enamelled tiles. The king is seen surrounded by his officers and ministers, as well as by his eunuchs, who bring seats and table-service for a banquet. He offers prayers and sacrifice to the gods and genii. The siege- and battle-scenes profusely illustrate the aspect of cities, forts, temples, and pavilions with volute columns and gardens, but not less effectively the butcheries and ghastly executions of captives. Even the thresholds of the doors are covered with inscriptions. Several slabs have been discovered on which elegant carpet patterns have been chiselled; among others one whose central piece consists of entangled circles surrounded by a band of rosettes, and bordered by a fringe of lotus flowers, the whole obviously in imitation of Egyptian ornamentation. In the northwest of the platform lies a building which has been supposed to be the lodging of the crown-prince. In the outmost angle lies the scanty *débris* of a little temple, whose socle shows

an entablature with plinth, trochilus, and weather-moulding. In the corner between the harem, the royal apartments, and the city wall, lies the stepped or storied temple, of which the four under stories, each about eighteen feet high, are preserved. On the southwest corner begins the ramp, or inclined plane, which, running spirally round the four sides, constitutes the upper surface of the steps. The coloring of the four preserved steps was still discernible at the moment of their disclosure, — white, black, red, blue, exactly as Herodotus describes the colors of the walls of Ecbatana. The walls are adorned on the inside by a series of entirely flat pilasters, which, as well as the flat surfaces lying between them, are decorated by sunk panel-work, giving rise to a lively play of light and vertical lines of shadow. The discovery of columns for which no structural use has been found is worth notice. They appear only in the interior of apartments or courts, and seem to have served as bearers of some article of furniture or adornment, not improbably hanging carpets. Only in the light wood-architecture of the baldachins and in the openings of the windows of the upper stories, do we notice on the sculptures columns with volute capitals. One of these columns is four-cornered, grooved, and crowned with a palmetto, exactly as on the old Greek terra-cotta relief of Melos. Another consisted of a round shaft and a ball-shaped capital with circular plinth. Its body is enwound by two semicircular mutually involved fillets. Finally, the drains laid under the terrace for carrying away the rain-water and sewerage, into which little sewers opened from almost every apartment, must not remain unnoticed. The bottom of the drain is carefully bedded with asphalt. The vaulting is in one case lanceolate; in another, spherical; in a third, oval. In short, here in Khorsabad all sorts of vaulting are found represented.

The conqueror Sargon was, in the summer of 705 B.C., succeeded by his son Sennacherib (Sin-akhe-irba). The inscriptions of the latter prince are engraved on the lions and bulls of his palace at Nineveh (Kouyunjik), and the reliefs on the walls bear also legends. A clay prism with a record of the first eight years of his reign, and named, after its first owner, 'Taylor's prism,' is now in the British Museum. Another cylinder, treating of its first two years, was copied by Bellino in 1820, and published by Grotefend in the transactions of

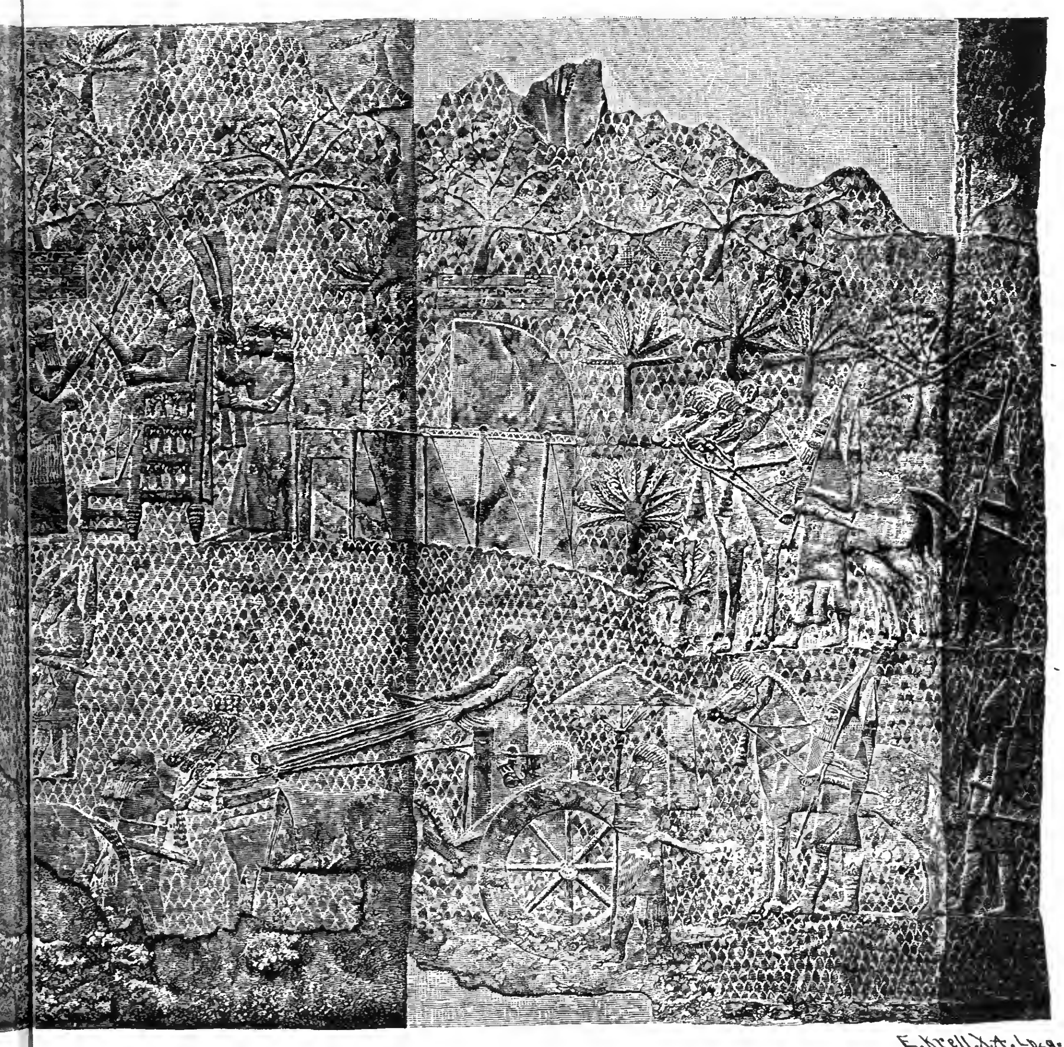
PL[ATE]



Sennacherib [be]fore...

Assyrian bas-relief. L[ond]on, B[ritish Museum].

LA'E V.



eri b'ore Lachish.

lief. L on, British Museum.

the Academy of Göttingen. An inscription from the mound Nebi-Yunus, at Nineveh, is in Constantinople. In the rock-sculptures of Bavian, three almost identical tablets were found, which, besides historical notices, contain a report on the building of aqueducts. For translations of the above we are indebted to Oppert, Ménant, George Smith, Schrader, Hörning, Budge, Bezold, and Pognon.

Berosus gives a Sennacherib (brother of the above), as ruler of Babylon at this time, besides Acises and Murudaches-Baladanes; while the canon of Ptolemy marks an interregnum of two years before the accession of Belibni. The Merodach-baladan named in the canon was presumably the son of the Merodach-baladan mentioned on page 406. He was deposed by Sennacherib, and Belibni was set up as viceroy. Numerous victories over Arabs, Aramaeans, and Chaldaeans are recited. An expedition against the Kassites brought these mountaineers under the sway of the governor of Arrapachitis (on the Upper Zab). The Median king, Ishpabara of Ellipi, also was conquered, and his cities, Marubishti and Akkudu, destroyed.

In Egypt, Sabaco had been succeeded by Shabataka. In Sidon, Luli (Elulaeus) sought to shake off the Assyrian yoke, as did Zidka in Ascalon. Padi, whom Sargon had installed in Ekron, was taken, and given up to Hezekiah of Judah, who calculated on Egyptian help. Sennacherib approached hitherward. The king of Sidon fled to Cyprus. Sarepta, Ecdippa, and Accho, were captured; only Tyre withstood him. The kings of Ammon, Moab, and Edom, as well as of Arvad, Byblos, Ashdod, and Gaza, and Ithobaal of Sidon, installed by Sennacherib, remained on the Assyrian side. Sennacherib pressed forward to Lachish, in order there to await the Egyptians. Hezekiah, who saw his land being laid waste, believing the Egyptians to be yet at a distance, caused Padi to be delivered up, and sent presents to Sennacherib at Lachish, — 30 talents of gold and 300 of silver, and the gold and silver ornaments of the temple and palace. The embassy of Hezekiah is to be seen on the relief from Nineveh here represented (PLATE V.). Over the king who sits on his throne, appears the cuneiform inscription; "Sin-akhe-irba, king of the universe, king of Assur, sits on the established throne, and receives spoil of the city of Lachish."

Over the tent is to be read: "Tent of Sin-akhe-irba, king of Assur." The position of Lachish being precarious, as Jerusalem and Ekron lay in his rear, Sennacherib withdrew to Altaku (Eltekeh, on the frontiers of Dan; Josh. xix. 44), southeast of Ekron. Here ensued a great battle, the issue of which seems to have been doubtful; for Sennacherib, whose army had been decimated by an epidemic, retired; and even Jerusalem, which without doubt he meant to capture, was left unharmed.

After a reign of twelve years, Shabataka was overthrown by Taharka, king of Ethiopia, and put to death. Sennacherib never again appeared in Syria. In Chaldaea, Shuzub appeared as an enemy. In Babylon, Ashurnadinshum, the oldest son of Sennacherib, was installed as king in 698 B.C. After futile efforts to make himself master of Elam, which was a main support of Shuzub, Sennacherib, in 689 B.C., defeated the Elamites on the Tigris, to the north of Babylon, and seized and completely destroyed the city, where Erigebelus (Nergal-ushezib) held sway. The land now fell under a viceroy, Mesesimordacus (Mushezib-Marduk) who, however, ruled only four years. From 688 till the death of Sennacherib, a governorship succeeded him. In 681 Sennacherib was murdered by two of his sons, who were probably embittered at the preference shown to Esarhaddon.

In 690 B.C. Sennacherib demolished the old palace of Nineveh, and reared a greater one on an artificial platform. The city wall, erected at the same time, can still be traced. It constitutes a quadrangle, narrowing, however, on the south, for here hills impinge on it on the east. The western wall runs parallel with the Tigris. Outside the wall, on the east, the mighty walls of a fortification still raise themselves; for here, chiefly, danger was to be apprehended. The breadth of the rubbish-heaps of the walls varies from 100 to 200 feet, suggesting a thickness of some 50 feet. A mountain-stream, the Khoser, from Khorsabad, flows through the city to the Tigris. Immediately beyond this, on the western wall of the city, lies the mound Kouyunjik, with a circumference of 7900 feet. It is some 60 feet high; and the bricks of which it is composed have been estimated at 4,000,000 tons. The excavations, begun by Layard in 1845, and continued by Loftus, Rassam, and Smith, disclosed the

existence of two palaces. That on the south, erected by Sennacherib, had an entrance on the stream-side, suggesting an approach by a stair, and another towards the city. The latter was of the same type with that in Khorsabad, — a high gateway with bull-sphinxes, and two side doors watched by bulls. Between these and the great portal was chiselled a figure of Ninip with the lion in his arm (Hercules strangling the lion). In all, six bulls were visible from the front, and four from the sides. Some 60 apartments, partly square, partly long quadrangles, grouped around three courts, have been excavated. The greatest hall measures 125 feet by 154 feet. On the whole, the dimensions are greater than those of Khorsabad.

On the west side Layard discovered a narrow ascending passage, formerly an uncovered approach to the palace, to which a wider and broader avenue joined itself. The latter contains the representation of a winged bull, while the smaller passage is lined with slabs six feet high bearing reliefs. On the right hand a long row of servants is seen bearing the materials for a great banquet, — fruits, game, dates, baskets with pomegranates, apples, and grapes, — each holding in the one hand a fan to ward off insects. Some carry hares, partridges, and dried locusts, on spits (these last animals are still, in Arabia, boiled alive in salt water, dried in the sun, smeared with butter, and eaten on bread); others bring low tables, with baskets full of cooked dishes; and others, vases of flowers for the decoration of the table. The opposite wall shows a line of admirably executed horses, with their grooms. These fiery steeds, with heads erect, and straight facial lines, are of the same race with the Greek horses on the Parthenon, and with the Arabians, and the English full-bloods and racers. The horses of Nisaea on Persian monuments have an aquiline nose, and are of Turkoman blood. In the northern corner of the western group of rooms lie two apartments, that contained Asurbanipal's library of inscribed bricks. These are mostly now in the British Museum, and constitute an inestimable treasure of historical, religious, scientific, grammatical, and lexical information.

The wall-sculptures differ from the older in that the artist has striven to represent the utmost possible. The battle-pieces show hundreds of figures, thus giving us a richer and more realistic field of observation than the works at Nimrud (cf. Fig. 18). The artistic

execution of the older is, however, more striking, and the figures are of monumental size. Sennacherib's reliefs, on the other hand, show little figures arranged in rows, one over the other. All have backgrounds, — landscapes with mountains, cities, trees, and rivers. The very richness in detail tends to overloading.

The northern palace was built by Asurbanipal, but has not been thoroughly explored. A limestone slab covering the threshold



FIG. 18. — Lion-hunt of Asurnazirpal. Marble relief from Nimrud. London, British Museum.

of a portal has special interest for the history of art. It shows square panels, with beautiful rosettes in the centre, from which oblong, unopened lotus-buds stretch to the four corners, while an unfolded blossom fills the space between them. The small bars between the panels are sown with rosettes or daisies. The whole is enclosed by a border, on which the same buds and blossoms run in alternate rows. This lotus ornament is Egyptian, and is found also in Phoenicia. The wall-sculptures are rich in festival- and hunting-scenes; and the natural rendering of the horses, the really grand conception of the wounded wild beasts that, bellowing in the

death-agony and transfixed with arrows, drag themselves forward on their hind-quarters while they raise themselves on their fore-legs, the eagerness of the hounds, which can scarcely be held in by the drivers, — all combine to give us a high idea of the talents of the artists in the closing years of the Assyrian Empire.

Of the works of art left behind him by Sennacherib outside of Nineveh, the sculpture of Bavian merits mention (Fig. 19). Bavian, thirty or forty miles north of Nineveh, lies in a ravine, out of which flows the Ghazir, a tributary of the Zab. The inscriptions found in the neighborhood have no relation to the sculpture, which shows four colossal figures in relief, in a niche nearly 30 feet high and 28 feet in breadth. Unfortunately they have been injured by Christian anchorites, who have hewn their cells into the rock on which they stand. The sculpture shows two divinities, — the one probably a goddess (the countenance is destroyed), — standing face to face on two animals, seemingly hounds, and both holding a ring and a rod in their hands. Behind each stands Sennacherib worshipping. If he had been only once represented, he would have appeared as if addressing himself to only one of the divinities. Similar deities, standing on animals, are to be seen on the upper border of another sculpture of Sennacherib's representing a horseman with lance. A massive block, with a winged bull and other figures, lies on the bed of the Gomal, thrown down probably by a convulsion of nature. Layard discovered also an elaborate fountain at Bavian, consisting of a series of basins lying one above another, of which the upper one empties itself into that immediately below it by a channel in the rocks. The issue at the bottom is decorated by two lions saltant. At a point near Malthaiyeh, in a northern direction from Mosul, and where the way ascends towards the mountains of Kurdistan, a great rock-sculpture, in very flat relief, and much weathered, occurs in the neighborhood of a hitherto unexplored palace-terrace. It, too, probably owes its origin to Sennacherib. One sees here, five times repeated, the king worshipping before an assemblage of three groups of deities, seven in each, that is, twenty-one in all, all standing on animals, — lions, horses, lynxes (?), and winged beasts. In each of the three groups one divinity, probably a goddess, sits on a throne. The tiara of the gods bears a star and disk;

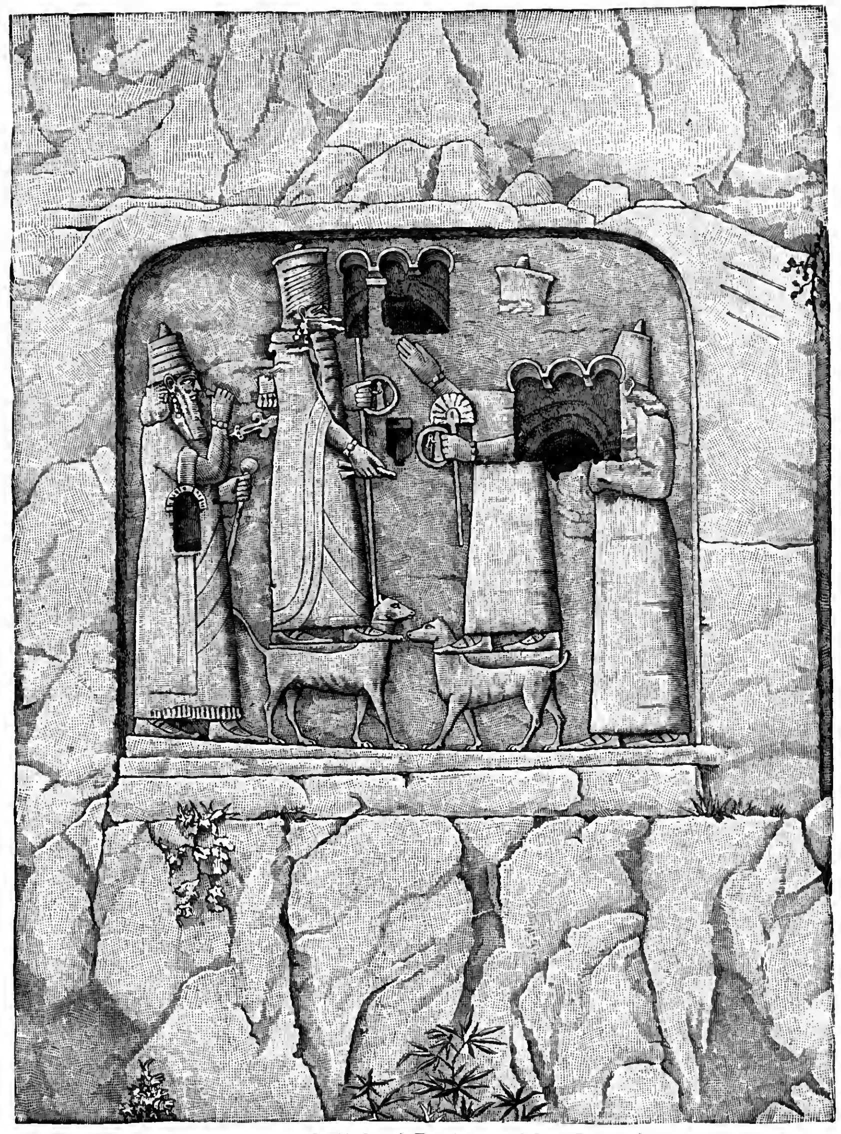


Fig. 19. — Reliefs of Bavian. (After Layard.)

their left hand holds a ring and rod, only that one figure seems to have grasped a bundle of twigs. This last stands on a monster, with the fore-parts of a beast of prey, and a horned head; the hinder legs are those of an eagle, and it is winged. It is, thus, the animal which as a dragon was conquered by Bel, and transfixed by the

king in Persepolis, and which appears also on a sandstone relief, and as the beast of the lower regions on a bronze tablet from Hamath, as well as on numerous signet-stones. The figure is the doorkeeper of the under-world, as is seen from a little terra-cotta tablet in the British Museum, on which the journey of Ishtar to Hades is represented.

Sennacherib was succeeded by his fourth son, Esarhaddon (Asur-akh-iddin, 680–668), who triumphed over his brothers, the murderers of their father, near Malatieh. Esarhaddon distinguished himself especially by moderation and good sense in matters of policy. He erected a palace in Calah, on the southwest end of the terrace, from the remains of the palace of Tiglath-Pileser II. The most important inscriptions reporting his achievements are on two cylinders, one of which is very fragmentary. Esarhaddon directed his weapons against Media. In the land Patusharra, which adjoins Bikni, whence lapis lazuli is acquired (probably the mountain-land Padashwargar or Tapuristan), he captured the chiefs Shidirparnu and Iparna (Iranic, Chithrafrana, and Vifrana), and brought them, with their people, horses, chariots, oxen, and sheep, to Assyria. Also the Median princes Uppis, Sanasana, and Ramatiya rendered him homage with gifts. Even the remote Gambul on the Persian Gulf, and Bit-Dakkuri, a Chaldaean land on the border of the wilderness, westward from Babylon, as well as Cilicia and Dukha in the country of Tabal, obeyed the Assyrian. Esarhaddon marched now against Palestine and Egypt. The king of Sidon, Abdimilkut, had joined himself with Sandu-arri of Kundi and Sizu (Cilicia). Both were defeated and put to death, and Sidon was destroyed. Eight Arabian sheiks of Bazu, on the other side of the wilderness, were slain. Ya'lu, the son of the Arab Hazael, had to pay tribute. The Ethiopian Taharka, to whom the great rock-temple on Mount Barkal and numerous buildings in Egypt owed their origin, regarded it as his mission to free Egypt from the menace of the Assyrians. He induced, therefore, the rulers of the Syrian coast and of Cyprus to ally themselves with him; but, not the less, Esarhaddon was able, after the capture of Ascalon, to press forward into Egypt, and completely to defeat the army of Taharka. The Pharaoh fled; the Assyrian took possession of Memphis and Thebes, where the temple



Fig. 20. — Asurbanipal and his Queen dining in an arbor, surrounded by fan-bearers, musicians, and other servants. Marble relief from Kouyunjik. London, British Museum.

was plundered, and set twenty princelings — among them Necho of Saïs — over Egypt. On the one cylinder Esarhaddon enumerates two and twenty tributary kings of the Syrian coast and islands, among them "ten kings of Cyprus in the midst of the sea."

Meanwhile Taharka again began to move, and the twenty princes took to flight. In 668 Esarhaddon publicly proclaimed his son, Asurbanipal, as his successor, who, after his father's death in the same year, continued the war with Egypt. His army marched, amid tokens of homage from the Syrian princes, along the route to Egypt, and overthrew the Ethiopian, carrying off the gods in whom he had trusted. The twenty princes were once more installed and their tribute heightened. Once more Taharka sought to drive forth the foe, and this time in concert with the princes; but the chiefs of the Assyrian garrisons came on the trail of the conspiracy, made prisoners of some of the princes, and wasted the land mercilessly. Asurbanipal could not help seeing that Egypt would not submit to be an Assyrian province, and came to terms, therefore, with Necho, by which the latter, after Taharka's death, ruled as a vassal of Assyria. In the meantime Nut-amun (in the Assyrian inscriptions, Urdamane), son of the wife of Taharka, assumed the monarchy. He had already reigned conjointly with Taharka, just as his own name appears later on a monument along with that of his successor, Psammetichus. He gave it to be understood that he would drive the Assyrians forth; but when it was heard that he was strengthening Thebes, Asurbanipal himself foiled his purpose by capturing the city. Fortunately for Egypt, affairs in Asia now claimed the attention of the Assyrians, so that the land was left to recover itself from the ravages of war, and to enjoy the blessings of peace.

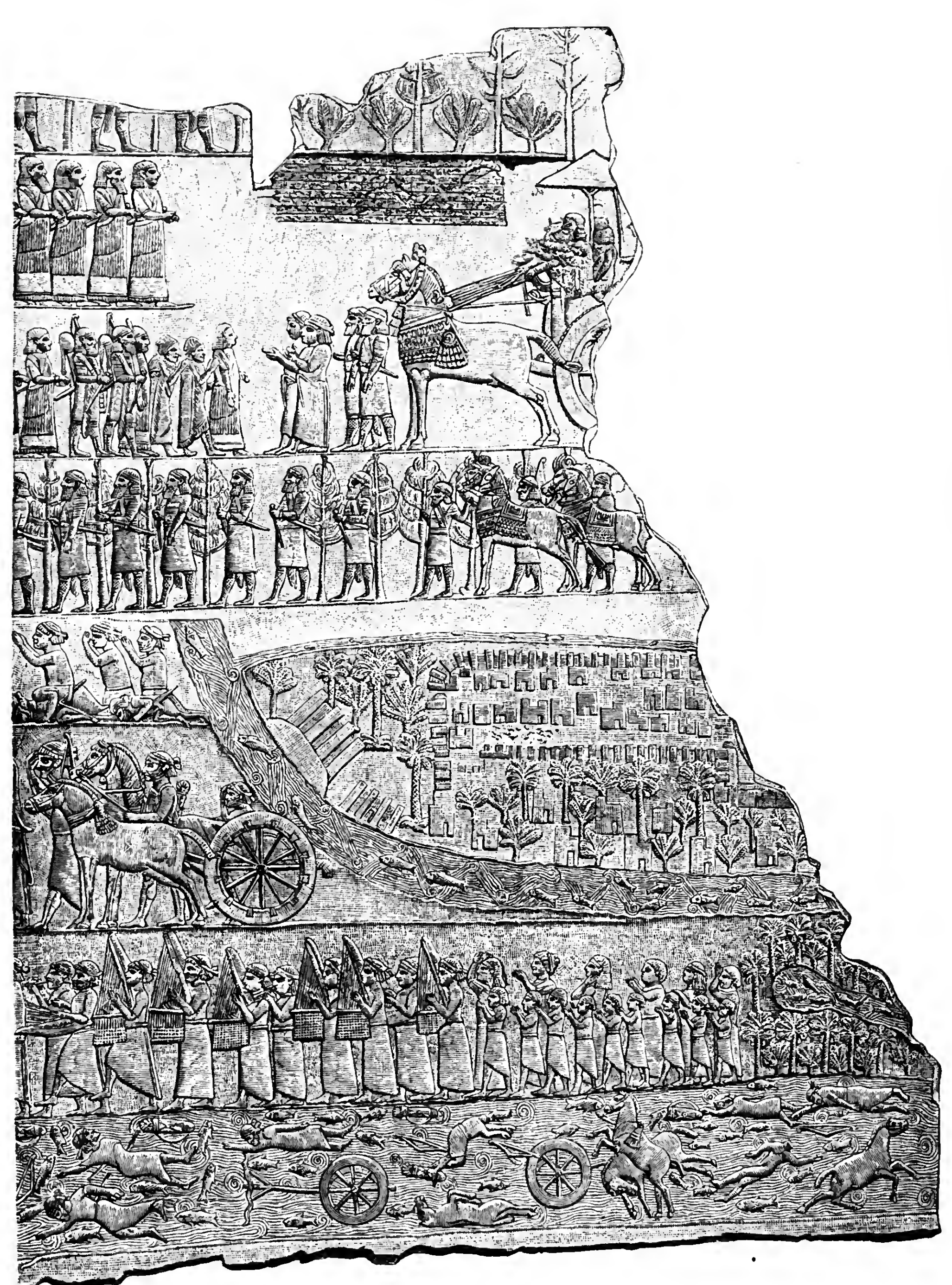
Asurbanipal's strongest efforts were now directed to the subjugation of Elam, or Susiana. The rulers of this land had of old times mixed themselves up with the affairs of Mesopotamia, and their hosts had once and again foiled attempts at the conquest of Susiana. The Babylonian insurgents ever found support in Elam against Assyria. The occasion for the final struggle, from which Assyria came forth victor, was a contest for the throne. Urtaki died c. 657; and his brother-in-law or brother (inscriptions differ), Te-umman, seized the seat, to the exclusion of Ummanigash, Um-

manippa, and Tamaritu, the sons of Urtaki. The new king forthwith determined to exterminate the royal house, and the princes fled to Asurbanipal, who took up their cause. The usurper was defeated, captured, and slain; his adherents in Gambul and Babylonia were put to death by torture. Ummanigash soon, therefore, instigated a widespread conspiracy, of which, among others, Shamash-shum-ukin, viceroy of Babylon and Asurbanipal's brother, was a member. Unfortunately for Elam new dissensions broke forth over the succession, so that Tamaritu slew his brothers, while he, in turn, had to flee before a certain Indabigash. Meanwhile Babylon had been reduced to obedience, and was ruled by officers of the king. Indabigash and another usurper, Takhe, were overthrown by Ummanaldash. The dethroned Tamaritu was restored to Elam, only to be seized as plotting hostilities. Ummanaldash came a second time to the throne, and under him the war broke out which ended in the land becoming Assyrian. Susa and some other cities were designated as 'royal,' inasmuch as they possessed palaces. Madakut, later Badaka, is named as a residence. The palace of Susa was plundered of its furniture and weapons; the main tower of the fort, built of limestone, and furnished with a breastwork of brass, was destroyed; the images of the oracle-god Shushinak, of Shumudu, Lagamar, Partikira, and others, likewise thirty-two statues of kings, of silver, gold, bronze, and marble, were 'carried to captivity' in Assyria; the lions and sphinxes before the temples, broken; the inhabitants carried off in herds to Assyria; the fountains filled up; the whole land was wasted for a month and five and twenty days, and left a prey to hunger. A statue of the goddess Nana, carried away from Warka 1635 years previously (i.e. 2283 B.C.), was restored to that city. Ummanaldash was pardoned, and left as a vassal over the ruins of his country.

The bas-reliefs representing the conquest of Elam bear legends. Over two figures, of which the one is struck with an arrow, while the other bends his bow, is inscribed: "Te-umman, dispirited, says to his son, 'Shoot the arrow.'" Over a chariot, in which a man carries a decapitated head, the legend says: "The head of Te-umman, king of Elam, soldiers of my army cut off in the battle, and hastily sent, as good tidings, to Assyria." On the adjoining relief from the palace of Asurbanipal,

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PLATE VI.



Scene from the Campaign of Asurbanipal against Te-umman, King of Susa.

At Madakut—the name is engraved between the houses—the king causes the captured generals of Te-umman to be brought into his presence. The inhabitants of the town prostrate themselves and receive the king with music. Marble relief from Kouyunjik. (London, British Museum.)

History of All Nations, Vol. II., page 97.

in Nineveh (PLATE VI.), the king halts his chariot before the city Madakut, and causes Nabudamik and Umbadara, generals of Te-umman, to be brought before him. The head of their prince was shown to them, whereupon the former pierced himself with his sword; the other cut off his beard. The cuneiform inscription over the scene reads: "I [am] Asurbanipal, king of Assyria; | by the power of Asur and of Ishtar, my lords, I have my enemies | taken; I have [thereby] rejoiced my heart. Rusa, | king of Urartu [Armenia], heard of the might of Asur, my lord; | the dread of my sovereignty overpowered him, and he has sent his great men [generals] | to Arba-il [Arbela] to secure my grace. | Nabudamik and Umbadara, great men of Elam, | I confronted together with the documents (?) containing the impertinent message."

In the north of the empire a war was carried on against the Manna (Minni, Jer. li. 27), southwest of the lake of Urumiah. King Akhshiri left his capital, Izirtu; and the people, dreading the wasting of their land, seized and killed him. The remote King Sarduri of Ararat sent presents, as tokens of friendship.

We possess a series of Armenian inscriptions in Assyrian cuneiform characters, but in a tongue as yet very little known. Thanks to the numerous ideograms, whose sense we learn from the Assyrian script, a part of the inscriptions can be made out, although the phonetic values of the words are unknown. The most northerly point at which such inscriptions have been found is Khalinja, on the Arpa-Tchai, about five miles from Alexandropol. Then come Armavir, Novo-Bayazid, on Lake Goltsha, Hassan-Kaleh near Erzerum; farther east, Daghar, on a pass in the route between Bajazid and Erzerum, Palu and Salakhana, near the sources of the eastern Tigris. Forty of the inscriptions are in Vannic, and were copied by F. Schultz from a minaret of the city, by aid of a telescope; and Deyrolle, by help of ladders suspended over the precipice by ropes, succeeded in getting paper rubbings.

The most southern inscription was discovered in Kumur-khan, near Izoghlu, on the Euphrates. The inscription of Kel-i-shin, a stele on the summit of the pass of Rovandiz, seems to be Armenian, but has not yet been published. They are all in the still unknown tongue of the Alarodii or Araratii, a people allied to the tribes of

the Caucasus and the Hittites, who were displaced by the Phrygian Armenians. The Araratii were known to Herodotus as on the upper Euphrates; the Alarodii, as neighbors of the Iberians and of the Matieni (Kurds), in Atropatene. While the Alarodii, according to the Assyrian reliefs, were a cultured people, and possessed numerous cities with high forts, temples, and gardens, and manufactured costly utensils, the Armenians, in Xenophon's time, lived in rather miserable circumstances. The Alarodii worshipped a chief god Haldis, who, like the Babylonian god Merodach, awakened the dead. Other deities are Teisbas, god of the atmosphere; Ardinis, the sun-god; Selardis, the moon-god. They were much given to faith in dreams and oracles. Armenian historians inform us that there were three elements in the Armenian religion, — a Zoroastrian element introduced by the Arsacids, an Assyrian, and an ancient native element. The god Tir inspired dreams, which were interpreted by the priests. In Artashat was a place with altars of Anahid Erazamoin ('interpretation of dreams'). Numerous spirits and demons, as well as the cult of ancestors and trees, are more than probable relics of the Alarodian religion.

The first king of Urartu (of the Alarodii) whose name is known is Arami. Shalmaneser II. (c. 842) names him as ruler of the region about the sources of the Euphrates. His successor, Siduris, fought (c. 833) with the Assyrians on the Arzanias, which flows into the Euphrates at Samosata. This ruler is obviously the Saduris of the Alarodian inscriptions, and seems to have been the founder of a new dynasty, inasmuch as he does not give the title of king to his father, Lutipri. He introduced the Alarodian script, for there are two inscriptions of his in Van still expressed in Assyrian. From an inscription of Asurbanipal, in which the name Sarduris is written with the ideogram Ishtar-dur, we learn that Sar, or Saris, was a name of Ishtar among the Alarodians. There followed Ispuinis, and then Minuas, under whose son, Argistis I., synchronous with Shalmaneser III. (780–770), the kingdom attained its highest point of power. By him was built the acropolis of Van, — named in the inscriptions Khorkhor, — whose fortifications were completed by his son. This fortress lies on a great, partially perpendicular limestone rock, the highest point of which is nearly 320

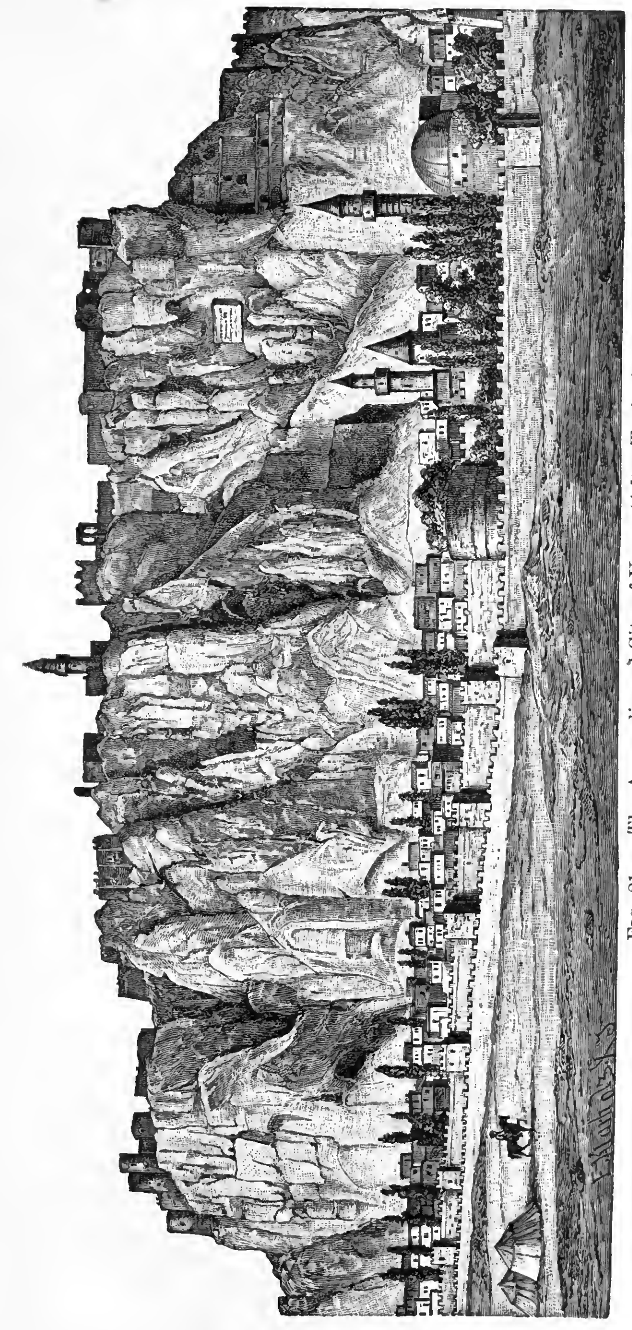


FIG. 21. — The Acropolis and City of Van. (After Texier.)

feet above the level of the city. The cliff divides itself into three main portions, in each of which we find rock-grottoes, galleries, and stairs, and numerous Alarodian, Assyrian, and Persian inscriptions. Of Argistis's successors we give merely the names: Sarduris II., Ursa, Argistis II., Erimenas, Rusa (Ursa), and Sarduris III. In Van were found Armenian bronzes, which Layard sent to the British Museum. They are in the Assyrian style, but were produced in Armenia. Some of them are inscribed with the name Argistis; and on one is carved a relief representing an Armenian palace with a vaulted gate and pinnacles.

CHAPTER V.

ASIA AFTER THE OVERTHROW OF THE ASSYRIAN EMPIRE.

THE Assyrian monarchs had established a great, essentially Semitic, empire. The neighboring nations — Egypt, Elam, Arabia, Armenia — were conquered, and, if not subjugated, dared no longer venture an attack. There were freer intercourse and reciprocity in every department of thought and action — religion, art, and the industries of daily life — than can be easily imagined when we consider the difficulties which then impeded international communication. Indeed, one cannot help wondering how it came that the countries that were the scenes of so many cruel wars had not succumbed to exhaustion. When we read, almost without cessation, in the Assyrian records, of places without number given to the flames; of the devastation of fertile fields, vineyards, and orchards; of the wholesale slaughter of human beings, and the deportation of whole races, — our admiration for the warlike qualities of this mighty people is quenched in face of the unspeakable misery they brought on so many flourishing lands. The people who probably suffered the least were the Phoenicians; for though they, too, were visited, and had besides once and again to struggle with civil dissensions within their cities, their prosperity essentially depended on their traffic with their colonies beyond the sea, and this lay beyond the touch of the Assyrian power. But Assyria herself became at length exhausted. Especially did this condition set in after her struggle with Elam, which had cost her gigantic efforts. Of Asurbanipal's immediate successors, we know little more than the names. He was succeeded by his son Asur-etil-ili-ukinni, of whom we know that he rebuilt the temple of Nebo in Calah, and that for four years at least he still clung to the title king of 'Sumer and Akkad,' emphasizing his control of Babylonia. The last king mentioned by Abydenus (who revised the work of Berosus) is Saracus, which corresponds to Sin-shar-ishkun, of

whom no historical inscriptions in the proper sense have been found, barring some mutilated fragments, but from the occurrence of his name in the dates attached to Babylonian business tablets we may conclude that for seven years at least he likewise was acknowledged as king in the south as well as in the north. The cuneiform sources for the last years of the Assyrian monarchy are very scanty, and we are still dependent upon notices in classical writers.

Abydenus says that under Saracus, Busalossar (Nabopolassar), the governor of Babylon, revolted and founded an independent dynasty, and with it the new Babylonian empire, in despite of the Assyrian desire to prevent it, and adds that the event undermined the prestige of Assyria, and emboldened others to throw off her yoke. Meanwhile the various peoples were in commotion everywhere, and to their assaults the bulwarks of the Assyrian conquerors could offer no effectual resistance. Most ominous of all was the appearance of Aryan races in the east of the empire and on the farther side of the mountain chain of the Zagrus. We are ignorant of what was going on behind the eastern mountains in the ages when history was confined to Egypt and the nations of Western Asia. Not till the last days of the empire of Nineveh did Assyrian troops penetrate to any depth into Media, and then without being able to secure a firm footing. One fact is noteworthy: neither in names of persons nor of places do we meet with Aryan (Iranian) words. Not till the time of Sargon do undoubted Iranian names make their appearance in Media. A catalogue of Median chiefs of the year 713, discovered by George Smith, contains a number of names, easily recognizable as Iranian, as Parna, Aspabara, Ariya, Vastakku, Arbaku, etc., while the place-names seem to be native and not Aryan. Isteliku and Avariparnu are Iranian chiefs of Kattanu; and this name, though that of a country, is given by Stephanus of Byzantium to a people on the Caspian Sea. Strabo, moreover, speaks of a people named Katennes in Pisidia; and the name reminds us of the Kedi, or Cataonians, allied to the Kheta, or Hittites. Between the Assyrians and Medes there dwelt in the earlier times Medo-Susian tribes, the Medes being spoken of (as in the inscriptions of Adad-nirari II. and Tiglath-Pileser II.) as a nation far remote, behind whom followed the dwellers by the sea of the rising sun (the Caspian). In still closer promixity,

and in league with the foes of the Assyrians, the Mede Daiukku (Deioces) appeared in the country of Hamadan. On the disruption by Sargon of the confederacy organized by Ursa, Daiukku, King of Manna, was taken, and banished to Hamath in Syria (715), while the above-named and other Median princes presented homage-gifts. Even in the times of the Greeks and Romans, and when the Medes had long been Persian, there were, in certain portions of the land, non-Aryan races, allied, as one may conjecture, to the Suso-Medians and Alarodo-Armenians, and probably the same people as those spoken of by Samsi-Adad IV. and Adad-nirari III. under the name Gizilbunda, the last mentioning Pirisati (Pirisades?) as one of their kings. To this race belonged the Cadusii, who, in the middle ages, still lived in independence amid their mountains in modern Dailem and Tarom, the hill-country over Ghilan. The Gelae, a branch of the Cadusii, inhabited Ghilan; the Amardi occupied the region on the right bank of the Amardus (a river named after them, and now called Sefid-Rud); the Vitii, the district between the Araxes and Kur; the Tapyri, Tabaristan. The Anariacae, who dwelt near the Amardi, believed, like the Alarodii, in divination from dreams. The Persian heroic saga indicates the countries bordering the Caspian as the land of the Divs, i.e., of hostile, strange peoples; and the Zoroastrian scripture, the Avesta, regards Mazandaran as the abode of the Mazdaean devas. Dialects of Persian are now spoken throughout these regions.

The Aryan Medes must have come from the east, and that by the only practicable way, along the southern border of the mountain range overlooking the Caspian, which must be crossed by the pass known as the 'Caspian Gates' (modern Sirdarra). With the Medes came the Parsa (Persians). These passed southward through the mountain country Paraetacene (modern Faridun), and entered Persis to give it its name. In its west they came on Susian tribes, as the Mardi (Amardi); on the seacoast they found a black race, who are spoken of in later times as Ethiopians, that is, Indians (the modern Brahui). Even before the Arabian conquest, the coasts of the Persian Gulf were occupied by Arabs. The Medes and Persians, with the Carmanians, were divided by the salt desert from the eastern Iranians, who maintained the Aryan modes of thought and

living more purely than their western brethren, who were exposed to the influence of Susiana and Assyria, lands of early culture. To these eastern tribes belonged the Hyrcanii (Varkana), on the Gurgan and Atrek; the Drangae, on the east border of the desert; the Sattagydae (Thatagus), in the district of Ghazni; the Parthians, in Khorasan; the Arii (Haraiwa), in the vale of the Heri-Rud; the Arachosii, in whose region Kandahar lies. These were bordered on the east by the Pactyes, or Afghans, and on the south by the Gedrosii, or people of Beluchistan. Between the Drangae and Arachotae a branch of the Iranian Scythians, or Sacae,[1] had settled; and their country was known as Sacastan (modern Sistan). Their brethren, the Amyrgic Sacae (Saka Haumavarka), remained high in the north-east, on the upper reaches of the Jaxartes and Zarafshan. The Margiani inhabited a great oasis in the vale of the Murgab, in which the city of Merv lies; the Bactri dwelt closer to the Oxus, and the Sogdi on the Zarafshan. The last to make settlements were the Chorasmii, in modern Khiva, probably the Kangha of the Avesta. Beyond them nomadic Aryans — the Massagetae and others — pastured their herds on the steppes. The Avesta names Tura, Sarima, Tana, Danu, Daha. This distribution of the Aryans shows that they had passed from Europe into Asia through the passes of the Ural; and part, wandering southwards, had settled in the east of the Caspian, where in early times the soil was more richly watered than now; part had proceeded up the Oxus, and taken seats in the vales of the Murgab and Tejend, whence they had crossed over Mount Paropamisus by the low pass between Sarakhs and Herat. The Aryans remaining behind in Europe poured themselves over the steppes of southern Russia, where the Sarmatians, the Scythians, and the Scoloti made their homes on the Don and the north coast of the Black Sea, whence they displaced the nearly allied Sacaean people, the Cimmerians, whose name yet survives in that of the Crimea. These turned southwestward and entered Thrace, where the Treres joined themselves to them; and together they crossed the Hellespont into Asia Minor, where we shall meet them hereafter.

We have no information in regard to the period when the Aryans of the Asiatic steppes advanced into the high-lying vales of Iran

[1] A name given by the Persians to wandering tribes.

and Kabul. Still less have we the means of determining when they parted from their Scythian brethren in Europe, and left that quarter of the world; and as little can we say when the Indic Aryans — the oldest form of whose speech is nearly allied to that of the old Persians, and shows that in hoar antiquity they formed one common nation — wandered through the vales of the Kabul and Indus into the Panjab. We are warranted in believing that the Aryans who settled permanently in the plains of the Oxus were the first to develop some degree of culture; for they rendered their oases habitable by means of irrigation-canals and structures for defence, the care of which they intrusted to a strong central authority, while their brethren who occupied the mountain regions of the newly acquired lands continued in their ancient mode of living, maintaining their old tribal system under petty chiefs, consisting of village elders and heads of families; their main occupations being tillage and the rearing of cattle, and their favorite hunting and feuds. The Avesta, which was brought into its present form at a comparatively late date, often transports us back to such primeval conditions; and even Herodotus's delineation of the rise of the empire of the Medes is in perfect accord therewith. The wars with which the Assyrians assailed the Medes taught this latter people the value of a strong central authority, analogous to that in their rival empire; and the princes of Bit-Daiukku, the modern Hamadan, succeeded in consolidating the Median tribes into a nation that felt itself strong enough to cope with that of Assyria. The first monarch of the new empire was Phraortes (Fravartis); he, according to Herodotus, who seems to confound him with Deioces, had brought the Persians also under his sway. An attempt made by him to annihilate the empire of Assyria miscarried; he was overthrown and put to death (625 B.C.). Meanwhile the Scythians (Sacae) made an incursion into Media, and for nearly a generation laid the country under contribution. Availing themselves of Syria's exhaustion, they even passed forward into Syria, as we are informed by Herodotus, whose statements are confirmed by passages of Scripture (Zeph. i. 2; Jer. i. 14, iv. 6). Herodotus connects this invasion with the expulsion of the Cimmerians, whom, he says, the Scythians were yet pursuing. In point of fact, the latter people came from the east at the time the

Cimmerians were domiciled in Asia Minor. It is possible, however, that, hard pressed by the Lydians, the Cimmerians also entered Syria, and joined themselves to the Scythians. At last these wild horsemen succumbed before the disciplined might of Media, under Cyaxares. According to the legends, their prince Madyas and others of their leaders were invited to a banquet, and, in their drunkenness, were treacherously massacred (596 B.C.). The commotions prevailing everywhere worked a complete revolution in the occupancy of the countries.

After the Medes had subdued Assyria, we find the Alarodii, the Moschi, and Tibareni (Tabal) — once powerful races in the east of Asia Minor — dispersed and driven to the north, and their old seats in the possession of the Phrygian Armenians. Thus two currents of Aryan peoples, flowing from different directions, met here in the north of Assyria; and, universal anarchy favoring the consolidation of the Medes, they founded an unlimited monarchy, with Hagmatana (Ecbatana) as its capital. Here, in the middle of a royal city, they reared a palace, fortified by a sevenfold wall, and installed therein a profusely equipped court, with watchmen, servants, and harem after the Assyrian pattern. Of the old Median structures nothing remains; of the Achaemenian, very little — some fragments of columns, and a lion worn by time into a shapeless block (Fig. 22), which, ringing clear on being struck, is regarded as a talisman against cold and hunger. In the southeast part of the city, which here spreads itself out in a fruitful vale at the base of Elwend (Mount Orontes), there lies on a terrace, and on the site of the Median fort, a structure, which is to this day a place of prayer. A description of the city, of later date, appears in Polybius (before 122 B.C.), wherein it is said that the castle lay under the fort. According to him, the palace was seven stadia — nearly one mile — in circumference; all the wood-work of cedar and cypress — beams, wainscoting, and columns — was covered with gold and silver plates; all the tiles were of silver. In the temple the columns



FIG. 22. — The Lion of Ecbatana. (After Flandin and Coste.)

were covered with gold; the roof was covered, and even the walls lined, with tiles overlaid with gold and silver plates, so that the total value amounted to 6000 talents (over $5,000,000).

Cyaxares secured as an ally for the destruction of the Assyrian Empire the Babylonian king Nabopolassar, who acceded all the more readily that he had not forgotten Assyria's tyrannic rule. To seal the alliance, the Median princess, Amyitis, was betrothed to the Babylonian crown prince Nebuchadnezzar. Herodotus, however, ascribes the annihilation of the power of Assyria to the Medes alone. The exact facts are unknown. One thing is sure, that this could not have come about had Assyria possessed the strength she had in the days of Esarhaddon and Asurbanipal. Her empire, despite its rise through atrocities unheard of, had proved a mainstay for the civilization of its age; for, concentrating as it did strength from all sides in itself, no outside barbaric peoples dared to break into the countries settled by the civilized races, where law, religion, and order had had opportunity to develop themselves. Moreover, the different nationalities dependent on Assyria were only partially suppressed, or annihilated, through deportation; some vindicated their independence on every change of ruler. Thus it came to pass in the last days of Assyria, and when she was too feeble to ward off the inroads of the Cimmerians and Scythians, but left this mainly to the Medes and Lydians, that these peoples rose to eminence, and appeared at the head of the defenders of civilization. According to Greek authorities, Sardanapalus (a name under which Asurbanipal and his successors are comprehended) was an effeminate despot, who, in his despair, cast himself into the flames of his palace. The hate of Assyria, which centuries of misery and terror had spread over the lands lying around her, finds expression in the utter destruction, not of Nineveh alone, but of the other royal cities also, — Khorsabad, Nimrud, Balawat, — which were every one demolished, and reduced to ashes. The fact that they were never rebuilt leads to the suspicion that the inhabitants were either massacred, or carried off into slavery, and even their very sites were cursed, and so left forever desolate. Hence Herodotus, two centuries later, speaks only of the Tigris, on which Ninus (Nineveh) once stood. Xenophon, who in B.C. 401 passed through the district, after the

battle of Cunaxa, found of the city of Mespila only one great wall, whose base, fifty feet thick, and fifty feet high, consisted of polished limestone, while the upper part, built of brick, rose 100 feet higher. The circumference of its walls was six parasangs (about nineteen miles). The writers of Alexander's days do not even mention the name of Ninus (Nineveh). The Persians, later, erected a fortress on the site of its ruins, which was occupied by the Romans, and under Claudius raised into a colony. It retained the name of Ninus, which had remained attached to the site. Roman bronzes, terra-cotta, and coins have been found among its ruins.

As the destruction of Nineveh occurred before Nebuchadnezzar ascended the throne, it may reasonably be referred to the year 606 B.C. Cyaxares reigned till 585. To him, besides the district of Assyria, there fell a part of Northern Mesopotamia; and in the east his dominion reached at least to the Salt Desert. Probably East-Iranian kingdoms also were subjugated now, or during the period of Median ascendancy. The Persians stood in the relation of vassals, and, after the fall of the Assyrian Empire, even advanced into Susiana, for Cyrus is at first termed by the Babylonians King of Ansan. The conquest of this land by Asurbanipal inured therefore to the advantage of the Persians. In the west of their empire the Medes came soon into conflict with the Lydians; for by them, after the overthrow and expulsion of the Cimmerians, who had overrun a large portion of Asia Minor, the former empire of the Hittites had been partially re-established.

Lydia is originally the country on the lower Hermus and upper Caÿster, in Western Asia Minor. To the volcanic district, Maeonia, the Greeks gave the name of Katakekaumenē ('the burned'). The stretches of coast, where in the most remote time a Lydian kingdom had existed, were early occupied by Greek Aeolians, who maintained their freedom against the Lydians, while the Greek city Magnesia was often reckoned to Lydia. We have already seen (p. 246, Vol. I.) that a tradition of the Carians represents this people as allied in language to the Lydians and Mysians. A Cretan tradition, probably having reference to the extension of the naval power of Crete over the Carian coast, makes the Carians come out of Crete. If speech is to be relied on as evidence of community of origin, then the Carians, and

with them the Lydians, were non-Aryan peoples. This we recognize, e.g., from the Carian city-name Suangela, meaning 'grave (*suan*) of the king' (*kar*). *Gela* is found also in Pygela on the Ionian coast. In Aryan speech *gela* would be the initial element of the word. Especially noteworthy are many of the city-names in Asia Minor, showing a common ending, and evidencing either that the tongues of the respective peoples were allied, or that the cities were founded by a race formerly dominating over the peninsula. Of the great number of such names, we adduce only a few: In Caria, Cal-ynda, Cary-anda, Pig-inda; in Lycia, Thry-anda; in Lycaonia, Lar-anda; in Pisidia, Lalis-anda, Is-indus; in Cilicia, Cy-inda; in Cappadocia, So-andus. Again: In Caria, Myl-asa, Harp-asa (on the river Harpasus, which was also the name of the modern Arpa-Tchai, in Armenia), Bad-essus, Halicarn-assus, Thom-issus; in Lycia, Lyrnessus, Car-assus; in Troas, Ped-asus (city of the Leleges); in Phrygia, Sy-assus, Merm-essus; in Pisidia, Selg-essus or Sagal-assus (near Selge), Cyrm-asa (Carian Cyrbasa); in Pamphylia, Petyel-issus; in Lycaonia, Adop-issus, Carop-assus; in Cappadocia, Muc-issus, Nero-assus; in Pontus, Am-isus (modern Samsun), Timol-isa, Hermonasa; in Cilicia, Pinden-issus, Coc-ussus (Goeksun, west of Albistan). Also in Thrace we have such names as Aeg-issus (city of the Getae), Paral-issum (of the Daci). Still more noteworthy are the names of some princes. The Lydian name Sady-attes contains the name of the god Attes, or Atys. Tiglath-Pileser, in the record of his campaign against Kummukh (c. 1130 B.C.), names the kings, Shadi-Teshub, Kili-Teshub, and Kali-Teshup, the initial element of the first of which is identical with the Lydian. In the inscription of Mal-amir a god Teru or Anteru is named; and it is possible that the Lydian river-names Scamandrus, Maeandrus, are also after a god Andrus. Carian inscriptions (some thirty in number), have been found in Bubastis (where Carians served as mercenaries of Psammetichus) and Abydos; as well as one each in Memphis, Abu-Simbel, and in Caria. Notwithstanding that they are in Greek characters, they have not yet been deciphered. Of Carian gods are named Osogōs, Rembēnodos, Narasos (Zeus), Marsares (Dionysus), Imbramos (Hermes). The Lydian religion is Syrian. Its central figure is Ma, the mother of the gods, who was worshipped on the mountain-peaks or under the figure of a

holy stone. Her images show her with the mural crown, and borne by lions, just as the Hittite goddess. Beside her stands the god of Spring, by the Phrygians named Sabazius; by the Lydians, Atys. He dies along with nature, and revives again; and with this resuscitation were associated bacchanalian rites and sexual debaucheries emanating from the Semites. The oracular utterances by ecstatic soothsaying women, the cultivation of music, and the working of metals, were all elements in the service of the gods of Asia Minor. Since no connection can be traced between the Lydians and the Phoenicians and Syrians in primitive times, we can scarcely be wrong in ascribing the dissemination of the Syrian cult to the Hittites. These last are mentioned by Homer (Odyss. xi. 521), under the name of Keteoi (Kheta, as Gladstone observes), as the subjects of Eurypylus, but by other authors, as Pindar and Apollodorus, of Eurypylus' father Telephus, a son of Hercules, and the adopted son and successor of Teuthras in Mysia; i.e., ruler of Teuthrania to the northwest of Lydia. To the Atyades, or, as it were, the god-dynasty (to which the national hero Lydus belongs), succeeds the dynasty of the Heraclidae, the servants of the Lydian goddess Omphale. It begins with Agron, the son of Ninus, the son of Bel, and ends with Candaules, the son of Myrsus. This last was murdered by Gyges, and thereupon followed the dynasty of the Mermnadae. Gyges had his authority confirmed by the Delphic oracle; and he rewarded the complaisant priesthood with six golden mixing-bowls of thirty talents' weight, which Herodotus saw in the so-named Corinthian treasure-house, or treasury of Cypselus, at Olympia. Gyges sought to find in Assyria a support against the partisans of the fallen dynasty and the Cimmerian invaders, and sent two captured Cimmerians in chains to Asurbanipal, as the latter informs us in two inscriptions. The Cimmerians appear already under Esarhaddon as possessors of eastern Cappadocia, where they had displaced the Tabal. Their king Teushpa (Teispes) was so dangerous a neighbor, that Esarhaddon ventured no attack upon him, but contented himself with securing his own frontiers. Sinope was named as their capital. The end of the Phrygian kingdom is associated with their attack on Lydia. Midas, the last of a long series of peace-loving princes in Phrygia, took his own life by

drinking the blood of a bull. Lydia, as the most powerful kingdom of the peninsula, was especially exposed to the attacks of the Cimmerians. Gyges fell in a battle (652); and, under Ardys, Sardis even was taken; only the acropolis stood out. The Greek cities, too, on the coast were roughly handled, particularly Magnesia on the Maeander, which was destroyed by the Treres, while the temple of Artemis, outside the walls of Ephesus, was burned to the ground. During its struggles against the Cimmerians, Lydia had so waxed in strength, that Alyattes, a later ruler, was able to render them quite harmless. The extinct kingdom of Phrygia and the regions occupied by the Cimmerians contributed to the aggrandizement of the Lydian dominions, and it could not be but that the Medes in their forward pressure after extension should come in collision with this power. The principal event of the war between the two peoples was the battle on the day of the solar eclipse of 28th May, 585 B.C. The soldiers saw in the phenomenon a sign from the gods, and the princes availed themselves of it to conclude peace. The Syennesis, or prince of the Cilicians, and Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon, in the conviction that the inordinate extension of the Median power must be checked, stipulated with Cyaxares and Alyattes that the Halys should be the boundary-line between Lydia and Media. Aryenis, the daughter of Alyattes, was married to the Median prince, Astyages, who shortly thereafter ascended the throne. Not the less Lydia continued to extend its sway on the west, where it sought to bring the Greek cities into its power, so that it might have the maritime trade in its hands. Yet of the greater cities only Smyrna was taken by Alyattes, and Ephesus by Croesus. After a long struggle a league was entered into with Miletus, and the Lydians planted cities along the coast where no Greeks were settled, as Adramyttium near Mount Ida, and Dascylium on the Propontis. The Troad was, from a very early period, Lydian.

The intercourse between the Lydians and Greeks was lively and friendly, and was based on mutual commercial and religious interests. To the Lydians appears, moreover, to be due the invention of coins; that is, of pieces of metal conforming to a fixed standard of weight and fineness, and whose genuineness the state guarantees by impressing them with its stamp. The early, more civilized na-

tions had long given up the primitive system of barter, and constituted metal the common medium of exchange; but up to this time the individual had no security that the pieces he received were of due weight and fineness. This he had to determine for himself.

While a particular ware might, at the discretion of the commercial world, become a medium of exchange, only the state could create money of compulsory currency. As the noble metals easily wear away, they were alloyed with a proportion of baser metal, commonly copper, to secure the due degree of hardness. The Babylonians had developed a system of weights by which the noble metal could be made the measure of value, but the Lydians first coined money of electrum (a mixture of 75 per cent. gold and 25 per cent. silver); while the Hittite mina of Carchemish (8656 grains, or 561 grammes), which long before the invention of coin was used in the weighing of silver bars, was made the unit of weight. Such bars of silver Schliemann found in Troy, weighing 2885.4 grains, exactly a third of the Hittite mina. The obverse side of these coins bears the impress of a lion and a bull; the reverse is the *quadratum incusum* ('the incuse square'), the impression of the die with crossed depressions. The Greek cities were not slow to appropriate the invention; and Croesus introduced the improvement of striking gold pieces of half the worth of the earlier stater, and along with these a silver coin one-tenth the worth of the gold one. Fifty staters of Croesus, each weighing 173 grains (11.2 grammes), make one Hittite or Babylonian mina of silver. From the fact that, in the Greek commercial cities, as well as in Lydia, in addition to silver and electrum coins, gold pieces of the same value as the latter were coined, and that various money systems were prevalent, there came confusion among the coins, which was not rectified till later by Darius.

Sardis, the Lydian capital, now a petty village, lies on the Pactolus, a river which rises in Mount Tmolus, and empties into the Hermus below the city. The gold was found among the rubbish eaten from the rocks by erosion, and brought down by the stream. The cliffs on which the citadel stands rise steep over the city, whose archaeological remains consist only of an entirely ruined Roman theatre and stadium, and two Ionic columns of a temple erected in the time of the Macedonians. In 1699 Chishull saw, still extant,

a part of the cella of the temple, with the vestibule and eight columns, and architraves. In the north of the plain, and not far from the probably artificial Gygaean lake (Mermereh), in which pile-buildings have been found, arise the '1001 mounds,' — the necropolis of Sardis, with some 60 grave-mounds of various height and extent. The circumference of the greatest — that of Alyattes — is 3600 feet. This is piled up on a plateau of rock, sloping considerably towards the south, on which side it is heightened by a limestone wall 140 feet high at its extreme point. In this mound lies the grave-chamber, whose roof is on a level with the highest part of the rock-surface. The mound, 226 feet in height, forms a flat dome, whose upper portion consists of layers of stone gradually tapering to a point, so as to form a flat funnel. The upper stratum consists of a layer of bricks, on which stood a large conical pillar surmounted by a ball ten feet in diameter, and surrounded by four smaller ones. The ball has been thrown down, and lies now at some distance. The chamber, long ago plundered by grave-robbers, lies in the southwest part of the elevation, and is built of square blocks of polished marble. In the background a blind door is introduced, and under the roof there runs a roughly-hewn frieze that probably was coated with stucco or metal. Some fragments of earthenware and two alabaster pitchers, with a vertebra and hand-bone of Alyattes, were the only remains found in the chamber. The chambers of the other graves are of the same type. The entrances from the south side are blocked up by stone slabs, and the corridors lose themselves in the soil piled up in the mound, that never had an entrance. In some graves were found stone beds for the dead. These are long benches with flat rests for the head and feet, with rounded depressions in imitation of pillows. On the front of the supports or feet are hewn reversed palmettoes in the old Greek style. The rim of the benches shows green and red stars, and red-bordered shields, volutes traced in green, that were once chiselled, with red eye. These beds of the dead, whose exact counterparts are found in Etruria, constitute one of the many evidences of a connection between Etruria and Lydia. In one grave on the Tmolus was found an old Lydian amber necklace (*hormos*), ornamented, after the manner of Egypt, with animal and human heads, and in the middle with the

figure of the Asiatic goddess in Egyptian style. Necklaces of this sort are characteristic of the oldest periods of the lands on the Mediterranean.

Croesus, the son of Alyattes, was able to hold together the empire, which, much expanded, had been left him by his father. Herodotus names as under the sway of the latter, the Lydians, Phrygians, Mysians, Mariandyni, Chalybes, Paphlagonians, Thracians (i.e., Thynians and Bithynians), Carians, Ionians, Dorians, Aeolians, and Pamphylians. The Mysians — named also Maeonians — were a Lydian robber-tribe harboring in the mountains on both sides of the Macestus (Simaul-Su). The Mariandyni — supposed by Strabo to be of Thracian origin — were settled above Heraclea (Bender-Eregli), a colonial city founded by the Megarians in the sixth century B.C. The Chalybes, famed for their skill in working in iron and steel (in Greek *chalyps*), occupied the region between Cerasus and the Iris, on the stream Puleman-Tchai, where the veins of iron are worked to this day by the mining population of the district. The Paphlagonians, and their neighbors the Thynians and Bithynians, were probably of Thracian origin, and thus cognate with the Phrygians and Treres; for in Strabo's time Bithynians still abode in Thrace, and the coast of the Black Sea between Apollonia and Salmydessus bore the name of Thynias. Even the Mysians, according to Strabo, may have been descendants of the Moesians in Thrace; while the Bebryces, who came hither before the Bithynians, were also from Thrace. Finally the Pamphylians were an old Greek colony between Lycia and Cilicia.

From the above we see that the Lydians were masters of Asia Minor to the west of the Halys, with the exception of the Grecian cities and Lycia. The Lycians, a brave and cultured people, had taken possession of the coast, and of the vales of the smaller streams that flowed into the sea; while the table-land of Milyas was occupied by the Solymi, who had, apparently, been driven from the coasts. Accordingly the Lycians had come to their country by sea, as the legend signifies that makes them to have emigrated from Crete under the leadership of Sarpedon, a brother of Minos. The government of Lycia lay in the hands of twenty-three cities, which held sway over as many little cantons marked off by natural bound-

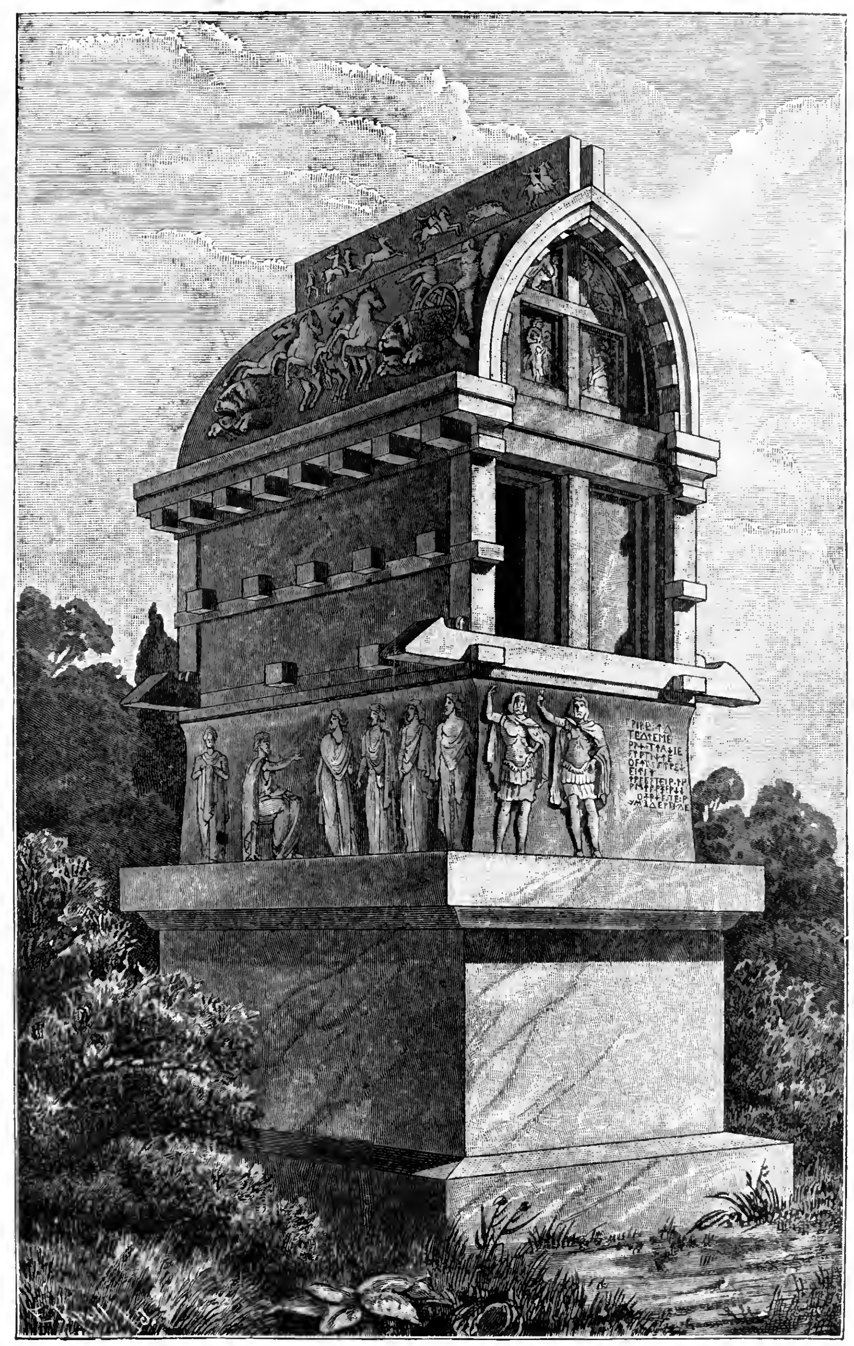


FIG. 23. — Marble Tomb at Xanthus in Lycia.

aries, their representatives meeting in one of the cities. Those of the greater cantons, as Xanthus, Patara, Pinara, Olympus, Myra, and Tlos, had three votes each; those of the middle-sized, two; those of the others, but one. They deliberated on the apportionment of taxes, chose the Lyciarch and other officials, established courts of law, and decided on peace and war. This state constitution was left unchanged by the Persians; and even the Romans declared this confederation free, reserving to themselves only the confirmation or rejection of its political enactments. With the Lycians the right of succession came through the female side; and the children were named after their mother — a custom dating back to times when irregularities in regard to the marriage relation made the paternity doubtful. The same arrangement prevailed among the Egyptians, Etruscans, and among many other primitive tribes. On the east coast the region is traversed from north to south by a spur of the Taurus, which, at but a short distance from the sea, attains a height of 7870 feet. In a deep ravine on the southern slope of Solyma, (Climax, now Taktalu), the highest peak, lie the hot-springs, Chimaera, over which a temple arose. The shepherds to-day cook their food at its fire, and tell how they often hear subterranean thunder growling in its depths. In the west, the mountain-chain of the Cragus stretches across the land, round whose western extremity the Sirbis, or Xanthus, winds. Here lies Patara, with a Greek temple worked out of the rock; farther up, Xanthus (Lycian Arna); and still farther to the north, Tlos (probably the same word with Troja). Facing the Cragus, the Anticragus towers aloft, on which lie Sidyma, Panara (on a tower-like height, honeycombed by hundreds of rock-graves), and Telmissus (Makri), where was a renowned oracle, and where the rock-wall was penetrated by numerous tombs with temple-façades. On the south coast lay Phellus, with its seaport Antiphellus, and Myra, in whose neighborhood (near Gjölbashi) a Lycian height with a heroön is still extant. On the inner walls of this sepulchre are reliefs of the fifth century B.C., extending over 300 feet, and representing scenes from the Iliad and Odyssey, the battles of the Amazons, the hunt of Meleager, etc. After this city comes Limyra and (in the midst of the mountains) Arycanda.

The religion of the Lycians we know only in a Greek dress. They worshipped a god of light, whom the Hellenes name the Lycian Apollo: this god had an oracle in Patara. Leto was originally their goddess of revenge and death. The fight of Bellerophon with the Chimaera and the story of the daughters of Pandareus of Miletus (who were carried off by the Harpies, and delivered over as servants to the Furies), are myths whose scenes are laid in Lycia. The Harpies, on the Harpy Tomb at Xanthus (Fig. 24), are winged beings, with the upper parts of a woman, and the lower those of a bird, and having talons. They are the Lycian genii of death, and bear souls aloft in the form of children lying on their breast, to give them the nectar through which they assume the form of gods and become immortal. In the original nature-symbolism these Lycian Valkyries were the goddesses of the storm or destructive hurricanes; hence one had the name of Aello, 'the whirlwind'; another that of Podarge, 'the gleaming-footed' — the mother, by Zephyrus, of the steeds of Achilles; a third, that of Ocypete, 'swift-flying.' Of similar origin are the Sirens, daughters of Earth, and companions of Persephone. They were represented on tombs and funereal lamps. On the sepulchral monument of Hephaestion, Sirens were delineated, behind which persons were concealed, who had to sing dirges, so that they seemed to proceed from the Sirens. The form of the Harpies took its origin undoubtedly from the Egyptian representations of the soul in the form of a bird with a human head.



Fig. 24. — Harpy. (After Fellows.)

The remains of the Lycian cities consist of Greek and Roman structures (often well preserved) as well as of Lycian, among which, in addition to old Cyclopean city- and fort-walls, tombs are prominent, whose careful arrangements testify to the belief of the Lycians

in a life beyond the grave. These tombs are of many sorts. Among the most notable are those imitating, in stone, wooden sarcophagi (Fig. 23). On a pediment stands a framework or scaffolding as if of wood, between whose timbers highly colored panels with reliefs are inserted. On this stands the sarcophagus, a chest-like structure also sculptured, with prominent protuberances (mostly treated as lions' heads), and having a lanceolate roof with ornamented ridge — a copy in stone, in short, of the coffin with its accompaniments. The sculptures exhibit pleasing subjects, as festival-, battle-, or hunting-scenes, or the operations of husbandry (never the torments of Hades), executed in the best Greek style, and bear inscriptions — including many proper names — in the Lycian tongue, which are here and there made intelligible by the accompanying Greek interpretations. The other sort of graves are rock-vaults, with window-like openings, and imitating frame-built houses, with all the elements of wood-construction, — joists, bolts, and cylindrical roof-timbers. There are also isolated graves, not built, but simply excavated from the rock by removal of the loosened stones. Over these rock-vaults, there rises occasionally a slender sepulchral tower above steps. The Harpy Tomb of Xanthus shows such a tower, seventeen feet in height (Figs. 25, 26). It is of limestone, and under its cornice there appear, on white marble slabs, reliefs (now in the British Museum) that have not yet been certainly made out. The opening is on the west side of the tomb; and over it is a cow with sucking calf, a symbol derived from Egypt, and that spread itself over all Western Asia and Greece, being repeated on coins from Corcyra, Apollonia, Cyzicus, Carystus (Euboea), and Dyrrhachium; also on Etruscan bronze vessels, Phoenician and Persian seals, before the gate of the temple of Muzazir, and on the ivory objects from Nimrud. The cow (Egyptian, *Ehe*, i.e., Io) of Hathor is termed at Edfu the great mother of the Sun-god, who every day renews his youth, and springs upward from the bosom of the earth; and on the Hathor-stele (in the Louvre), Thothmes III., its author, prays that the goddess may grant him a good sepulchre after his hoary old age. The figure is therefore, as it were, a word of comfort, and a pledge of everlasting life on the farther side of the gloomy gate of Hades. Beside the entrance to the grave sits a maternal divinity with a cup in her right hand (Demeter?);

opposite her is another goddess (Persephone?), to whom three maidens offer a pomegranate blossom and an egg, which she holds in her hands. The Etrurian Proserpine, in like manner, holds an egg. The pomegranate is the symbol of marriage, by which man perpetuates himself in his posterity; the egg is the repository of life. From an egg that fell into the Euphrates doves hatched Aphrodite or Ishtar, who presides over propagation. The surface on the east side shows a bearded god holding a fruit (cucumber?) in his hand; a boy offers a cock, the bird of Aesculapius, who appears on the altars over which men poured their thank-offerings for recovery from sickness, and who by his voice chases away the spirits of night, and announces the rising of the sun-god. To Anubis, the guide of the dead, a white or yellow cock was offered. The north and south sides present reliefs of similar character. On the former we see a god on whose throne a boar is visible, while he himself reaches a helm to a youth. Both symbols suggest an Ares (Mars); at the same time the latter object reminds us of the helmet of Pluto, which rendered its wearer invisible, and that took its origin from Atef, the crown of Osiris. On a Phoenician relief at Irepta, near Byblos, a swine is seen as a sacrifice for the dead. The south side shows a figure that offers to a god a dove, the bird of Aphrodite, just as Seti I., in Abydos, offers a dove to Amun. On both north and south sides the Harpies soar aloft with the souls. Only underneath on the north side is seen a mourning female figure. The reliefs constitute a continuous representation; and the boy, youth, and figure in middle age, indicate a definite progressive conception, which Brunn is disposed to regard as that of the cycle of life, the main factors in which are the conjugal union of the sexes and the perpetuation of the race. The style of the monument, which was probably executed by Lycian artists who had studied in Athens, is the same as that of the Leucothea relief of the Villa Albani (perhaps also of Lycian origin), of the Thasos relief (Apollo and Nymphs), etc. It may then be referred to the middle of the sixth century B.C.

In the neighborhood of the Harpy Tomb stood a pillar — the obelisk of Xanthus — (now in the British Museum), bearing on its four sides a long Lycian inscription, to which is appended an inscription in Greek hexameters, with a Lycian paraphrase. The latter begins

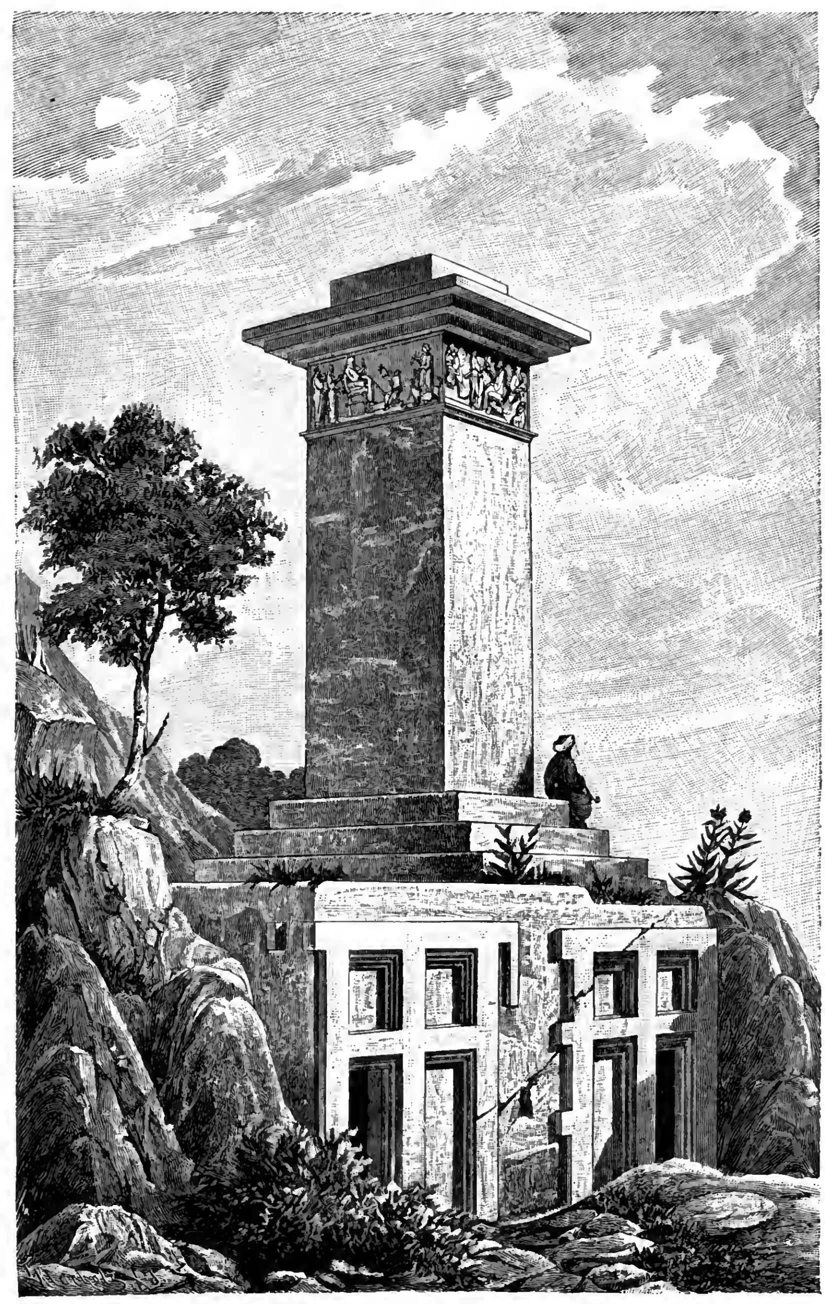


FIG. 25. — The Harpy Tomb of Xanthus. (From Fellows.)



Fig. 26. — Reliefs on the Frieze: the Harpy Tomb of Xanthus. (From casts.)

with a verse of Simonides on the battle on the Eurymedon (466 B.C.), and names a Datis, son of Harpagus, and a Persian governor in Lycia, in whom we seem to see the conqueror of Evagoras of Cyprus, in 386 B.C. The Lycian inscription is still undeciphered. Other monuments are entirely of Greek workmanship, with a leaning towards Lycian architectural forms. A fine example is the tomb of Harpagus set up in the British Museum, with superb Nereids in floating garments.

Of equal rank with the empires of Media and Lydia, whose history we have been sketching, was the later empire of Babylon, ruled by an essentially Semitic people. Here Nabopolassar was succeeded by his son Nebuchadnezzar (Nabu-kudurri-usur), one of the greatest monarchs of antiquity. Even before his entrance on the government, he had shown himself to be a leader who commanded success. Egypt in particular recognized the danger with which its influence in Syria was threatened, through the growing strength of this ambitious power, and made a last effort to reassert it. After the extinction of the Twenty-fifth Dynasty, a new royal race mounted the Egyptian throne, whose first prince, Psammetichus I. (664–610 B.C.), had been adopted as co-regent by Nut-amun. When Nut-amun withdrew to Ethiopia, all Egypt fell into the hands of Psammetichus. A statement on an Apis-stele shows that between Taharka and him not a full year intervened. Psammetichus was one of these joint princes or kings who, as we have seen, arose in the course of the troubles with Ethiopia and Assyria, and whose rule the Greeks termed the Dodecarchy. He legitimized his ascent of the throne by marrying the beautiful Ameniritis, spouse of a king Piankhi, and sister of Sabaco. Of this queen we possess, besides various religious structures and smaller antiquities, an alabaster statue on a granite pedestal (Fig. 27), which marks the dawn of a new era in Egyptian art, distinguished by the delicacy and grace of its style from the free and powerful manner of the earlier school. It was not till the Asian peoples were fully occupied, first by the Scythian invasion, and later by the partition of the spoil of the Assyrian empire, that Egypt, so long embroiled, was left free to recover herself. This she did under Psammetichus, who bribed the Scythians to keep away from his land. Under this rule the triad of the gods of Saïs

— Osiris, Neith (Athene), and Horus — came to the foreground. Osiris, the king of the lower world, became henceforth the highest god; Horus became identified with Ra; while Neith, very rarely appearing in earlier times, became now the queen of heaven. Psammetichus had the merit of opening his land to free intercourse with foreign peoples, especially with the Greeks, thus securing effective mercenaries for his army and new fields for commerce. At first certain cities — Saïs, Bubastis, Memphis — were designated as residences for the mercenaries, especially for the Carians and Ionians, from whose union with the daughters of the land there sprung a race of interpreters and guides, who, in addition to much of value, communicated to travellers many tales of marvel and trivial legends.

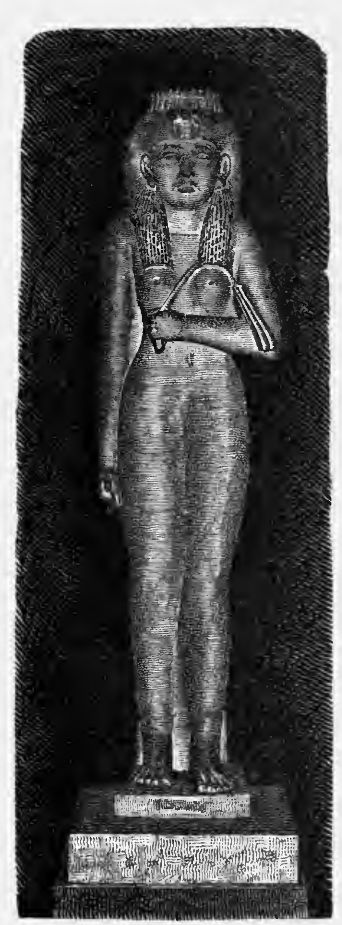


Fig. 27. — Alabaster statue of Queen Ameniritis. Gizeh Museum.

The same policy with regard to foreign intercourse was also pursued by Psammetichus' son and successor, Necho (610–594 B.C.), who sought especially to promote maritime enterprise. He undertook the execution of the plan, already projected by Rameses II., of connecting the Mediterranean Sea and the Red Sea by a canal which, continuing on from the old one through Wadi-Tumilat, turned southward at Lake Temsah. Not he, however, but Darius, completed the work. Owing to the decline of Egypt, the circumnavigation of Africa and the building of large seagoing ships did not bring the wished-for commercial and naval advantages. Necho turned his eyes towards Asia, where his predecessors had made Egyptian influence strongly felt. The kingdom of Judah we have already seen attacked by Shishak.

The conquered Rehoboam had been succeeded by his son Abijam and his grandson Asa, the latter of whom had, with Syrian aid, defeated Baasha, king of Israel. Asa's son Jehoshaphat put an end to hostilities between himself and his northern neighbor by marrying his son Jehoram with Athaliah, the daughter of Ahab and Jezebel. Her son Ahaziah was murdered by Jehu; whereupon Athaliah herself assumed the government. Being a true daughter of her mother, she did everything in her power as wife, mother, and reigning queen, to advance the Phoenician Baal cult in Judah, which drew upon her the hatred of the patriots, who in a conspiracy instigated by the priest Jehoiada slew her. Her grandson, Joash, ascended the throne when seven years old, under the regency of Jehoiada; but he also, after a long reign, fell victim to a conspiracy formed, perhaps, through dissatisfaction at his inglorious purchase of peace from Hazael of Damascus by the surrender of the palace and temple treasures. His son Amaziah, during whose reign Jerusalem was taken by Jehoash of Israel, was likewise murdered. Under Uzziah (also called Azariah) the land recovered prosperity for a short time, but only to fall into decay again under Jotham and Ahaz, through conflicts with Damascus, Israel, and Assyria. Hezekiah we have met with in the history of Sennacherib. His son Manasseh was an energetic character, and reigned for nearly half a century. He carried the syncretistic fusion of the national religion with all sorts of heathen elements, — Canaanite, Phoenician, Assyrian, — to an extreme never before approached. The reign of his son Amon lasted only two years, and was succeeded by that of Josiah, under whom a religious reformation took place, based on the legislation of Deuteronomy, of which something more anon when we come to speak of the Hebrew literature. When Necho was on the way to attack the expanding Babylonian power, Josiah attempted to bar his passage at Megiddo; but before it came to a battle, Josiah, while marshalling his forces, was slain by an Egyptian archer. Necho advanced as far as the Euphrates; ventured not, however, to enter Mesopotamia, but turned back without effecting anything. The Jews had placed Jehoahaz on his father's throne; but after three months he was thrown into prison by Necho, and his brother Eliakim (changed to Jehoiakim) put in his place as tributary vassal

of Egypt. The Babylonians now prepared to break the Egyptian ascendancy in Syria. Necho once more hastened to the Euphrates with a very large host, but was completely defeated by Prince Nebuchadnezzar at Carchemish, and pursued to the border of Egypt. There, fortunately for Egypt, the death of his father recalled the victor to Babylon to repel possible pretenders to the throne. Not many years after this Jehoiakim submitted to the Babylonian king, and paid tribute. Necho, however, had not lost courage. He made fresh preparations, and hoped, through the restless temper of the Jews and other Syrian peoples, to find occasion and support for a new conflict. His incitements induced Judah to rebel against the Chaldaeans; whereupon one of Nebuchadnezzar's generals came to besiege Jerusalem. Before his arrival, however, Jehoiakim had died, in the eleventh year of his reign, and had been succeeded by his son Jehoiachin (Jeconiah, or Coniah). Jerusalem closed its gates against the Chaldaeans, but surrendered when soon after Nebuchadnezzar himself appeared. Jehoiachin was made prisoner, the temple despoiled of its treasure, the landholders and artisans of the city, with their families, were deported, and Mattaniah, a son of Josiah, and uncle of the deposed king, was intrusted with the government under the name of Zedekiah. Necho died in 594 B.C.; nevertheless, the hope of aid from Egypt induced Zedekiah, in conjunction with Tyre, Sidon, Moab, and Ammon, to revolt against the king of Babylon. Necho's son, Psammetichus II., reigned only until 589 B.C., and was succeeded by Hophra (the Apries of Herodotus, Egyptian form Uah-ab-ra), who was known to be eager for war. But Nebuchadnezzar discovered the plot, and sent an army to enclose Tyre, while his main force devastated Judaea, and threw up an investing-wall against Jerusalem. An army of Hophra was repulsed. The prophet Jeremiah counselled surrender, but the king and his advisers resolved to attempt the utmost. Famine arose in the city; infants and children fainted in the streets, and died in their mother's arms while begging for bread; women slaughtered their children, and consumed them (Lam. ii. 11; iv. 10). After eighteen months of siege, on the 19th of the 4th month (Tammuz), in the 11th year of Zedekiah (July, 586), towards midnight, a breach was made in the wall of the city. The night was dark, for

the moon was only nine days old. The Babylonian commanders at once established their headquarters in the 'middle gate.' Zedekiah, with a troop of soldiers, escaped through the southern gate (near the present Babel-Mugharibeh), and gained the Jordan valley. At daybreak the Chaldaeans became aware of the flight, overtook the king near Jericho, and carried him to Riblah (south of Kadesh, on the Orontes), where Nebuchadnezzar had his abode while awaiting the success of his operations. The last sight beheld by Zedekiah was the execution of his own sons, after which he was deprived of his eyes, and carried in fetters to Babylon. About a month after Zedekiah's flight and capture, Nebuzaradan, captain of the royal bodyguard, was charged with the final execution of the king's will against the rebellious city. All the soldiers, priests, and persons of the upper classes, were sent captive to Babylon. Only the poorer people were left in the land, and the possessions of the captives divided among them. The temple, the palace, and all the houses were destroyed by fire; the walls of the city were razed; the brazen sea of the temple court, and all other utensils of brass, were broken up, and sent to Babylon to be recast; and the vessels of gold and silver were carried off as trophies. A governor, Gedaliah, was appointed; but scarcely two months later he was treacherously murdered. Thereupon a large part of the remaining population, the prophet Jeremiah among them, although he was averse to the movement, fled terror-stricken to Egypt. In 581 B.C. the remnant of the nation, serving in the army of the Moabites, engaged in a last struggle against Nebuchadnezzar, and suffered a last defeat. One must read the vivid descriptions of the prophets Jeremiah and Ezekiel in order to form a conception of the effects produced by Nebuchadnezzar's victories.[1]

After accompanying the Jews to their house of bondage, let us return to Syria. Tyre sustained its siege longer than Jerusalem. The sea enabled this insular city to defend itself for thirteen years against the Chaldaeans, till, in 573 B.C., a compact was concluded with

[1] The German original at this point contains several pages on the sacred books of the Hebrews. For these pages has been substituted an account of the Old Testament written by Rev. Professor P. H. Steenstra; and for the sake of greater clearness this account has been cast into the form of a chapter (VI.), and made to follow the present chapter.—Ed.

King Ethobaal, whereby the city submitted to the suzerainty of Nebuchadnezzar without entire loss of its independence. The Chaldaeans were now able to march against Egypt without leaving a foe in their rear. Here Hophra had, in 570 B.C., associated with himself in the sovereignty Amasis, who had married his sister, and who, after six years conjunct rule, succeeded him as sole king. Nebuchadnezzar's inroad falls in the time of this double sovereignty. The victor pressed on to Syene, without actually conquering the land. Amasis reigned for thirty-eight years after Hophra's death, and pursued the policy of maintaining close relations with the Greeks, with whom he was extremely popular. He encouraged them to settle in Egypt by developing the Greek city Naucratis, which had been founded earlier, about fifteen miles west of Saïs, the capital of Psammetichus I., and near the modern village of Nebireh; here Amasis induced the Carians and Ionians, settled by Psammetichus on the Pelusian branch, to fix their abode. In Naucratis the Greeks enjoyed perfect freedom, had their own constitution and worship, constructed numerous temples, and engaged in the manufacture of many objects. With this city as centre, they established commercial marts in different parts of Egypt. Naucratis grew steadily in prosperity until the Persian conquest, when it appears to have declined. Amasis died in 526 B.C., only a short space before the kingdom of the Pharaohs fell before that of the Persians. His successor reigned only a few months.

The renewed prosperity of the land under the Twenty-sixth, or Saïte, Dynasty, was accompanied, as already stated, by a revival in art, which extended through the Persian domination down to the times of the Ptolemies and the Roman emperors. Of this later period of artistic excellence there remain preserved for us fewer great temples than sphinxes and statues. Intercourse with the outside world led to greater destruction of monuments in Lower Egypt than in the higher Nile valley, which lay more remote from interference. The portraits of the kings evidence not so much lifelikeness, as delicate and elegant treatment, whose merit is enhanced by the hardness of the material employed. In later times Saïte types were again and again reproduced, and in the studios artists maintained by practice and precept an artificial and conventional dexterity which disdained to imitate nature. Occasionally one fancies

he sees a certain effort after truth to nature, probably due to the influence of Greek art, as in the headless Horus of black granite in the Louvre, whose extremities are nearly models in this respect. The actual marriage of Greek with Egyptian art found place in the time of the Ptolemies, but the issue was an unsatisfying mongrel style, which had lost the naïve charm of the pure Egyptian art; while, by reason of its holding on to rooted defects, it did not approach that of Greece. According to the reports of the ancients, the graves of the Saïte kings were within the precincts of the temple of Neith. This departure from the long-cherished custom of depositing mummies in the rocks or pyramids had its origin in the wish to be interred in the royal residence itself, in whose neighborhood no rocks were to be found; neither on account of the unsettled nature of the soil, which at intervals was flooded by the river, could any fixed foundation be got for pyramids, which, besides, had ceased to be built for centuries. From this arose the idea of the sepulchre which the Mohammedans call *turbat*, consisting of a mausoleum, probably provided with a lattice and curtain, in which a shrine with the mummy was placed. Immunity was insured by the sacredness of the temple, but only so long as Egypt was not visited by foes. Private graves, also, have been found near Saïs on brick-built platforms of colossal dimensions. Graves of this character are found in the old necropolis of Memphis, as that of Bek-en-ranf at Sakkara, which, still retaining its color-decorations, is eminently instructive in regard to the Asiatic manner of ornamentation.

Nebuchadnezzar's successes extended the boundaries of his empire, and brought much wealth to the capital; for the Assyrians and their successors never returned home empty-handed. We know that Babylon had been destroyed by Sennacherib and rebuilt by Esarhaddon. Nebuchadnezzar determined to remodel it on quite another scale. By him it was made to assume the character of a small fortified state, rather than that of a city (Fig. 28). Double walls begun by Nabopalassar and completed by Nebuchadnezzar—named in the inscriptions Imgur-Bel ('Bel blesses') and Nimitti-Bel ('protection of Bel') —surrounded the section in which a group of three palaces stood, and walls, forts, towers, and gates protected other portions of the city as well. The stream was flanked on both sides by

parapet-walls (completed by Nabonidus), through which gates opened on the water. Nothing is now left of these walls but small rubbish-mounds, for as they gradually sunk into decay, the trenches were filled up whence the clay for the bricks had been dug; while several cities were built from the material. Even to this day the extraction of bricks from the ruins for export is a lively industry. The royal city had also its special walls, and of these the eastern

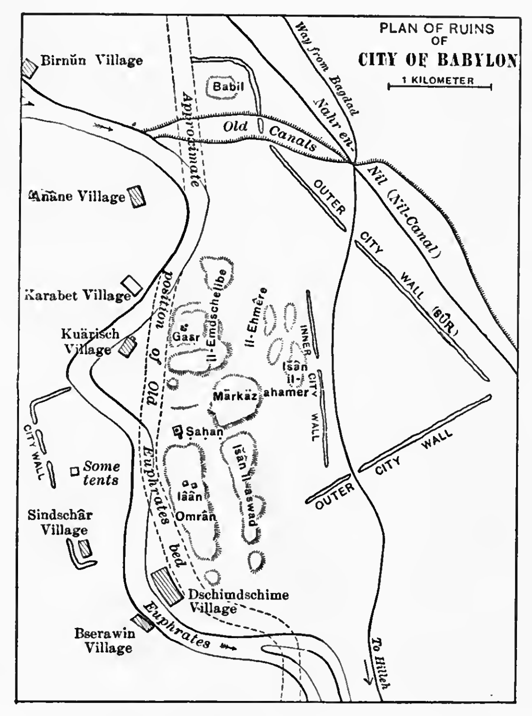


Fig. 28. — Plan of the Ruins of Babylon.
[From *Weissbach, die Stadt Babylon* (Leipzig, 1904).]

corner is still extant. Herodotus, who tells us that he visited Babylon, gives as the circumference of the outmost wall (which already in his day had been in places destroyed by the Persians) 480 stadia, or a little over 55 miles, stating that it had 250 towers and 100 gates of bronze (cased with bronze). The diagonal formed by the Euphrates — if treated as a straight line, 170 stadia or nearly 20 miles in length — divided the square into two triangles, in one of which stood the royal city; in the other, within a sacred precinct of

one-quarter of a mile in circumference, a temple of eight towers (stages), surrounded by a spiral ramp, and containing the shrine and image of Marduk. The triangles were connected by a wooden bridge on stone piers. Ctesias, the only extant Greek author besides Herodotus who saw ancient Babylon, gives the circumference of the walls as 380 stadia (41½ miles). Not improbably the 480 stadia of Herodotus included the length of the river parapet walls. The bridge united two palaces, of which the eastern was the more magnificent. This palace had three walls, 60, 40, and 20 stadia long respectively. The middle wall was round (?) and 300 feet high; the towers 480 feet (?). The enclosing wall of the western palace was 30 stadia in circumference. Ctesias describes also the Hanging Gardens, but his account as reported by Diodorus is unintelligible. It appears they were 400 feet long and of equal breadth, and were formed in terraces rising one above another, the uppermost being planted with great trees. Other writers have found the height of the walls exaggerated, and lowered it by changing cubits into feet, and fathoms into cubits. As the city of Babylon is now being thoroughly excavated by a German expedition, we may soon expect to have more definite information of their original measurements. While examples of vast terraces and walls are to be seen in Mesoptamia, as the wall of Khorsabad, which is seventy-three feet thick, it is more than likely that those are justified who claim that Ctesias, who is in bad repute among scholars because of his many manifestly erroneous and misleading statements, is misinformed or intentionally exaggerates.

The ancient parapet walls along the river-bank are still visible in the northern part of the ruins. The mounds covering the ancient city of Babylon embrace about 12 square kilometers; and four distinct ruins are to be distinguished. The northernmost mound Babil contains the remains of a palace built by the great Nebuchadnezzar II., of which the famous "Hanging Gardens" form a feature. These gardens were merely a series of terraces laid out as parks, and rising by a series of stages to the elevated platform on which the palace itself was reared. More important, however, than this palace, which stood in or near the suburbs of the city, was the one that Nebuchadnezzar, using in part earlier structures, erected as his official residence in the centre of the

city, and which has now been discovered by the German expedition beneath the mound El-Kasr. This palace consisted of two wings connected by a corridor; but not satisfied with this, the king added to this double palace a third structure adjoining it at the south. The official residence lay at the sacred procession street—the main thoroughfare of Babylon—along which on New Year's Day and presumably on other holidays the image of Marduk was carried, accompanied by the other deities forming his court, from his shrine in E-sagila to the "sacred chamber of fates," just beyond the palace, and where he remained during the first eleven days of the sacred week with which

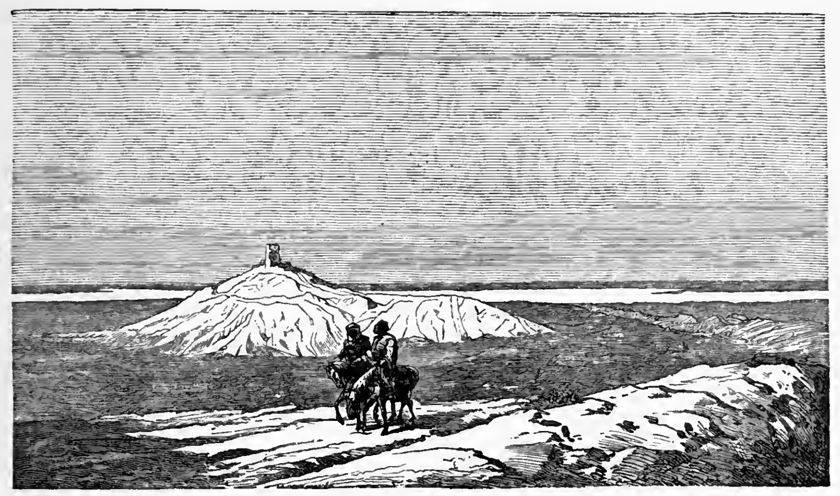


FIG. 29. — Birs Nimrud, the traditional Tower of Babel. (After Oppert.)

the year began. The name of the sacred street was Ai-bur-shabum, meaning, "May the enemy not prevail." It led, as stated, directly to the sacred area within which Marduk's temple stood, the site of which has now been identified at the third mound Amran-ibn-Ali. The name of the temple E-sagila—i.e., "the Lofty House"—was applied also to the very extensive area around the sanctuary, which was filled with shrines, chapels for the other gods worshipped at Babylon, with dwellings for the priests, archives, courts of justice, and the like. The stage-tower known as E-temen-an-ki, 'Foundation of Heaven and Earth,' lay to the north of the temple proper, and formed part, of course, of what was known as E-sagila in the wider sense of the temple area.

The business and residence portion of Babylon is represented by the southernmost mound Dschimdschime, where, however, systematic excavations have not yet been undertaken. A feature of the procession street was the decoration of the walls that lined it in with glazed tiles depicting majestic lions (See Vol. I., PLATE XVII.) in the act of marching, as though accompanying Marduk and the gods on their route. Where the street met the palaces there was a gate of large dimensions known as "Ishtar's gate," and this structure likewise was covered with glazed tiles, representing on the flat surface of the bricks or in bold relief pictures of the mythical animals,—the *sirrushshu* (i. e., great serpent) and the bull,—and perhaps also other animals with which some symbolism was connected.

About seven miles southwest of Hilleh lies Birs Nimrud, also a tower of stages, but now a pyramidal mound 153 feet high and 2000 feet in circumference (Fig. 29). Tradition associates this mound with the Tower of Babel, on whose seven stages, painted in various colors, a sanctuary stood. In the angle of the structure Rawlinson found a clay cylinder bearing an inscription of Nebuchadnezzar, telling that the building was an edifice in honor of Nebo, partly reared, but not completed, by an earlier king; that it had fallen into decay through age, and had been repaired and finished by him.

Nebuchadnezzar's activity was not limited to temples and palaces, but was extended to measures adopted by him for the advancement and security of his land. This had been, in very recent times, wasted by the Assyrians, who burned and slaughtered unscrupulously. As the fertility of Babylonia was dependent on the irrigation of its fields, he was at the greatest pains to have the aqueducts restored that had been destroyed in the time of war, and protected the whole Babylonian canal-system by a wall running north of the Saklaviya Canal from the Euphrates to the Tigris. Like the Egyptian Amenemhat (p. 122, Vol. I.), Nebuchadnezzar built, not very far from Sippar, a large basin 46 miles in circumference, by whose opening or shutting the flood of the Euphrates was regulated. In the inscriptions mention is made of the restorations of a great Euphrates canal, named Libil-khigallu, eastward of Babylon; and, according to Berosus, the Nahr-Malka was excavated by him. The coasts were defended by dykes against inundations from the sea, and a great seaport,

Teredon (Jebel-Sanam, south of Old Basra, now, however, far from the sea), was founded, which at the same time constituted a fortress against the nomadic Arabs. The Euphrates was covered with merchant-vessels, that imported the productions of distant lands, and exported the products of Babylonian industry and the overplus of its crops. The inland transit-trade, also, passed through Babylon; and it was due to the prescience of this king that the city continued to be the principal commercial emporium of Asia till far into the Middle Ages. Among the thousands of business documents on brick tablets, — many reaching back to very early times, and all, independently of their importance for the history of civilization, interesting as preserving numerous dates and proper names, — those of the house of Egibi are interesting as furnishing the history of an extensive banking house. The founder of the firm Egibi is named in the time of Asurbanipal; his son was Nabu-zir-ukin, and his grandson Sula. The last, we are told, conducted the business down to the twenty-third year of the reign of Nebuchadnezzar. His son, Nabu-akhe-iddin, entered the house in the fifteenth year of that king, and conducted the business independently till the twelfth year of Nabonidus. In the eighth year of this monarch he admitted his son Itti-marduk-balatsu as a partner, who continued at the head of the house till into the reign of Pseudo-Smerdis. The rule of the insurgent Nidintibel—to be mentioned below—is noted on one of the tablets. In the second year of Darius, a son, Marduk-nazir-pal, appears, continuing to the end of this reign. From the thirty-third year of Nebuchadnezzar till the third year of Cambyses the name of Iddin-Marduk appears; and from the third to the twentieth year of the former, that of Kudur—the two sons of Basha, the son of Nur-Sin, who was a son of Egibi. The brothers, Iddin-Marduk and Kudur, accordingly had an interest in the business at the same time. The Egibi tablets give a consecutive record of yearly transactions from Nebuchadnezzar till Artaxerxes. The Egibi family has its counterpart in the business house of Murashû Sons at Nippur. (See p. 169, Vol. I.)

In contradistinction to the old Babylonian contracts, which take their dates from events in the reigns of the ruler, and to the Assyrian documents, which are dated after the eponymous prefects or governors (see p. 194, Vol. I.), the neo-Babylonian business documents, on the

other hand, take their reckoning from the accession of the different sovereigns, and dates are given with great precision. Many of these tablets bear the impression of the seals of the contracting parties and witnesses. The documents show that men were familiar with simple notes and obligations payable on sight in seventy-two days with penalty; obligations with assignment to a third person; with such as were payable to another party; as well as with exchange between one place and another. As the tablets consisting of baked clay could be written on only once, we find no examples of indorsement. Banking passed from Babylonia to Phoenicia, where the Greeks learned the system, and in virtue of their banks exercised great influence on politics, not only in ancient Athens, but in the Middle Ages. From Greece the system was transplanted to Italy, whence it spread over the rest of Europe.

After a brilliant reign of forty-two years and seven months, Nebuchadnezzar died in 561 B.C., leaving the kingdom to his son Evil Merodach (Amel-Marduk). He, after a short, inglorious reign, was murdered in 559 B.C. by his brother-in-law Neriglissar (Nergal-sharuzur), who on the occasion of the capture of Jerusalem is spoken of (Jer. xxxix. 3, 13) as Rab-mag (Rubu-makhkuh, 'chief prefect'), and of whom we possess an architectural inscription. Laboroso-arkhod (Labashi-Marduk), son of the usurper, was murdered in 555 B.C., while yet a boy. The last king was Nabonidus (Nabunâ'id, 555–539 B.C.), of distinguished lineage though not of royal blood. We have already seen how painstakingly he devoted himself to the restoration of cities and holy places, and learned to know his strong respect for objects of antiquity, to which we are indebted for the preservation of many historical monuments.

CHAPTER VI.

HISTORY OF HEBREW LITERATURE.

By Rev. Professor P. H. Steenstra, D.D.

FROM the account of the destruction of the Judaean kingdom (pp. 124–126), we may now turn to the history of Hebrew literature. This subject is one which it is difficult to treat in brief compass, both because of its intricacy, and because of the comparative novelty of the facts to be presented. Nearly a century and a half of close critical study of the Old Testament has established conclusions concerning the origin and authorship of its several books which differ widely from those traditionally taught, and still held by the majority of Jews and Christians. And what is even more troublesome, these traditional opinions have been so closely connected with theoretical conceptions of the nature and method of revelation and inspiration, as to countenance the fears of many that the abandonment of the former must carry with it the degradation of the books to the level of ordinary literature. The present work cannot deal with the theological aspects of its historical presentments; yet the writer may be allowed to express his firm belief in revelation and inspiration as facts which no critical conclusions can touch. Biblical criticism is, after all, neither more nor less than biblical exegesis carried on in entire freedom from all foregone arbitrary assumptions. It unquestionably necessitates a revision of defective theories concerning revelation and inspiration; but the facts themselves it helps to establish more firmly than ever.

The literature of Israel that has come down to us, contained in the Old Testament and in what are called the Apocrypha, is but a small fraction of the national product. Judged according to the purpose of its authors, compilers, and collectors, it belongs altogether to the department of religion and ethics. The modern distinction between sacred and profane, at best more formal than real, is un-

known to it. It treats even what we call civil history, wars, and dynastic changes from the religious point of view, but of course selects among the facts and events those most suitable for its purpose. Human life, however, has feelings, passions, and interests, which, at least for the time being, take no cognizance of anything beyond themselves. These also, as we see from casual quotations in the books extant, found literary expression among the Israelites, forming their polite literature. It was artless and primitive in character, and nothing more than traces of it are extant. Of science and philosophy, in our sense of the terms, there was none whatever. The great bulk of Hebrew literature was therefore of the same general religious character as that which belongs to the books of the Old Testament; and what we have to deplore is not so much the preservation of only one species of writings, as the fact that of that species so much has perished.

The beginnings of Hebrew literature, as it lies before us in the Old Testament, can scarcely be placed much higher than the beginning of the ninth century before Christ. That does not mean that literary activity then first sprang up, but that it then assumed greater prominence, adopted a more definite, conscious purpose, and produced writings still extant as component parts of Old Testament books. The art of writing, even if it were only in some pictorial form, was doubtless known to Moses and some of the leaders of the people in his day. But its chief use was the preservation of highly important memorials, such as covenants and events that could be foreseen to involve far-reaching consequences. This purpose was best subserved by inscriptions on stone. Close and prolonged contact with the Canaanites resulted in the acquisition, by gradually increasing numbers, of alphabetic writing and its use for a greater variety of purposes. But not until the reign of Solomon did the advance of civilization and the prevalence of peace make the beginnings of literature possible. Down to that time, and long after, oral tradition held the place of written literature. The oldest form of artificial composition, among all ancient nations, was lyrical. Song and ballad celebrated every notable event, and secured for it commemoration lasting in proportion to its importance. Memory, rendered tenacious by exercise, was the book; and the

singer or reciter was the reader. After the poet and singer came the story-teller, the prose narrator of tribal or national exploits and histories, or what passed as such. It would be useful to enlarge on the origin and growth of these tales, but our limits forbid. The freedom of prose, that is, the absence of measure or rhythm, made this form of oral tradition more subject to change in contents and expression than the poetic. Each tribe not only created, revised, and modified its own traditional narratives, but it also recast, and adapted to its own ideas and uses, those of others. In this way a mass of unwritten literature grew up, and served useful ends in the education and training of the people. Rehearsed wherever people gathered for recreation and social converse, at 'the places of drawing water' (Jud. v. 11), among the sheepfolds of the shepherds, at the sacrificial feast by the local altar, among the greater crowds drawn together for worship and barter at some famous sanctuary, these legends quickened mind and heart, diffused knowledge, stimulated patriotism, and nourished religion. And the first stage of written literature was little more than the collection and fixation in writing of whatever the collector deemed most worthy of this body of oral tradition. The earliest collections of this kind consisted of songs and ballads. The names of two such have been preserved in the Old Testament. They are the "Book of the Wars of Jahveh," and the "Book of the Upright." The former is named only once; but to judge from its title, it covered the period of the conquest of Canaan, — not merely its beginning under Joshua, but its whole protracted course, conceived as carried on under the leadership of Jahveh. The latter is credited with a song on Joshua's victory over the Amorites (Josh. x. 13), and with David's elegy on Saul and Jonathan (2 Sam. i. 18); and its name makes it probable that it also celebrated other than warlike heroes. These collections may be assigned to the reign of Solomon or soon after. They may also have contained more or less prose matter, explanatory of the poems. Historical songs naturally originate while the events they celebrate are recent and fresh in mind, and hence furnish the most authentic sources of the historian. No doubt similar collections were also made of old prose narratives, although they do not happen to be alluded to in the Old Testament.

The first properly historical writings with which we become acquainted are two books—more properly speaking documents—of which large portions have been preserved in the Pentateuch and Joshua. They were histories of the Israelitish people, from their origin to their settlement in Canaan, to which one of them at least, and perhaps both, prefixed an account of the creation (Gen. ii. 4 ff.), and earliest history of mankind. These writings afterwards furnished the greater part of what we now read in Genesis, as also considerable portions of Exodus, Numbers, and Joshua. The portions excerpted from them are readily distinguished from those of other writers met with in the same books by their style, vocabulary, theological ideas, and other criteria. Similar marks distinguish them from each other. One of them uses throughout the divine name Jahveh (represented by LORD in the English Bible), whence its author is designated the 'Jahvist;' the writer of the other, down to the time of Moses (to whom God communicated the new name Jahveh, Ex. iii. 14, 15), and frequently afterwards, employs Elohim, i.e., God, and is therefore called the 'Elohist.' The Jahvist was a Judaean; the Elohist belonged to the Northern kingdom. Concerning the date of these writers, it is venturesome to speak more definitely than that they belong to the early part of the prophetic age. Like the prophets, they treat history as the unfolding and realization of Jahveh's plans and purposes for his people; but they do not reach the spiritual and ethical elevation of the great prophets whose writings we possess. Perhaps those critics are most nearly right who place J (the Jahvist) between 850 B.C. and 800 B.C., and E (the Elohist) about 750 B.C. The sources from which they drew were those written collections of songs and narratives already spoken of, and unwritten traditions. This explains the divergences that occur when both relate the same events. Oral tradition unavoidably varied in details, and was subject to local coloring and the effects of endeavors to explain and interpret; but when dealing with real events — in contradistinction to conjectural accounts of prehistoric times — was fully competent to preserve the main facts for long periods.

As the writings of J and E are in effect the first draughts of the Hexateuch (i.e., the Pentateuch and Joshua); and as the further

growth and completion of that great work is of the utmost importance to the understanding of the whole history and literature of the Hebrews, it is best to proceed with it, although chronologically other books should now engage attention. The next portion of the Hexateuch, in the order of writing, is Deuteronomy, — more exactly chapters v.–xxvi., and xxviii., and a few other verses, — the book found in the temple in the eighteenth year of the reign of Josiah, B.C. 621 (2 Kings xxii. 3 ff.). This was a law-book, the second codification of Israelitish law. The first was contained in E (Ex. xx. 23–xxii. 33), and is commonly called the Book of the Covenant. The Deuteronomic code clearly shows that it is largely based on that of the Book of the Covenant; but at the same time indicates great changes in social conditions, manners, and modes of thinking, whereby many extensions and modifications of old law had already been introduced, and perhaps committed to writing, while others were either making or desirable to be made. Hebrew, as well as all other ancient law, was not, like modern law, made by formal enactment of legislative bodies. Like English common law, it was custom, defined and built up by judicial decisions. It is a grave mistake to conceive of the Deuteronomist as a legislator, in our sense of the word. His work, like that of the writer of the older, briefer code, was that of collecting and arranging, — codifying. Its only new feature, as compared with the older code, — a feature of very great import, however, for the sake of which the author's whole work was done, and which involved many related subjects, near and remote — is the centralization of lawful public worship at Jerusalem. The older law left men free to worship at any spot made sacred by divine visitations and interventions (Ex. xx. 24). Hence the existence of altars upon 'every high hill and under every green tree,' in other words, in or near every city and village. The new code, which is cast in the form of a long discourse, is put into the mouth of Moses, and is said to have been committed to writing by him (Deut. xxxi. 9 ff.). The latter statement is such as no modern writer could make in good faith. But the case is very different with the Deuteronomist. Not only was he convinced that the legal determinations and ethical teaching of his book were genuinely Mosaic in spirit and purpose, but he believed that the writings from which

he obtained much of his material were of Mosaic authorship. What he wished to claim was Mosaic sanction for the substance of his work, — a claim which might be expressed in modern phrase by saying, this body of law is in full accord with the principles and judgments of Moses as laid down in writings which every one accepts as his. The appreciation of absolute accuracy of expression is of modern growth. Nor is it difficult to see how Mosaic authority in this form might be honestly invoked, even for what was comparatively new. Local altars, in many instances built by the Canaanites, furnished with Canaanite symbols, and associated with Canaanite practices, perpetually menaced the purity of Jahvism. The comparative seclusion of most of them withdrew them from observation, and favored, not only image worship, but also the intermixture of various Canaanitish rites. Under indifferent kings foreign influences, due primarily to the introduction of the Hebrews to agricultural life when they conquered Palestine, which entailed an adoption of the Canaanitish sanctuaries and of the Canaanitish agricultural festivals, assumed large proportions, and threatened to assimilate Jahveh worship to the cult of the Baals, as the local deities worshipped at the Canaanitish centres were known. The extent to which this process went may be gleaned from the circumstance that Baal was at one time used as synonymous with Jahveh. A reaction set in, though when the opposition to local altars first sprang up is not definitely known; but it had time enough for growth between the age of Elijah (*cir.* 870 B.C.) and the destruction of the Northern kingdom, in 722 B.C., which was looked upon in Judah as a judgment on its image worship and local altars, and so intensified the agitation against the latter that in the reign of Hezekiah (726–697 B.C.) efforts were made to suppress them. It was after this, perhaps during the reactionary reign of Manasseh (697–641 B.C.), that Deuteronomy was written. Of the history of its origin, the circumstances that brought it to the temple, and perchance caused it to lie there many years, neglected and forgotten, until its discovery, we have no information. But it brought about a great reformation, and, through the combined action of king and people, became the recognized law-book of the nation. It was enlarged more than once by the addition of introductory chapters and appendices, and during the Exile was combined with

the older historical writings of J and E into one work. This book, which it would not be difficult to reproduce to-day with substantial accuracy, constituted the second draught, or enlarged edition, of the Hexateuch as finally shaped during the Exile and brought to Jerusalem in the days of Zerubbabel (538 B.C.), not quite fifty years after the destruction of Jerusalem.

The Exile was a most important period in Jewish history. No doubt many were disheartened, and sank into lethargy; but prophets and priests were actively preparing for the restoration in which they firmly believed. They exerted themselves to preserve, and fix in writing, the history of the national religion, and especially the due performance of its rites and ceremonies. In this work Ezekiel took a prominent part, but in a fashion of his own (chaps. xl.–xlviii.). Another writer was the compiler of what critics call the 'holiness-law,' now found in Leviticus, chaps. xvii.–xxvi. Some of his sources were pre-exilic, but he probably wrote not long before the end of the captivity (538 B.C.). The chief production of the kind, however, is of still later origin. The tidings that reached Babylon from time to time concerning Zerubbabel and the returned colony were much the reverse of satisfactory. Jahveh's favor still seemed to keep aloof from his city and his people. Priestly minds felt that the remedy must be thorough indoctrination of the people in the home-land in the relations of their nation to Jahveh and his worship. This led to the composition of the last great book that enters into the structure of the Hexateuch as known to us. This book critics designate as P, the Priestly Code. It covers in general the same ground traversed by J and E, but, unlike them, is very meagre on the patriarchal history, and very full on the ritual law. The greater part of it is now found in Exodus, Leviticus, and Numbers. The writer drew on priestly tradition, both written and unwritten, and ascribed the whole ritual law to Moses, as no doubt his sources did before him. The work was probably not long left in the form originally given to it. It was of a nature to leave much room for improvement. The compilation called the holiness-law, already spoken of, was soon incorporated with it. Many other additions were made, although the details of the process cannot be ascertained. The resulting P was finally combined with the pre-exilic fusion of J, E, and D; thus completing

the Hexateuch, save minor additions, as it has ever since existed. But as to the date of the combination, there is diversity of opinion. Some critics place it before 444 B.C.; others, the majority perhaps, later. In the absence of clearly decisive evidence to the contrary, it must be considered probable that the Book of the Law which was solemnly read to the people at Jerusalem in B.C. 444 (Neh. viii.), was not the whole Hexateuch, but only the Priestly Code (P), of which in all probabilities Ezra himself was the author. This Code has always dominated the interpretation of the Hexateuch, and has but too generally led both Jews and Christians to cling to the letter that killeth, to the neglect of the spirit that quickeneth.

The origin of the Hexateuch as just described, by bringing to light three distinct periods and phases of Hebrew religious thought and practice — the pre-Deuteronomic, with its local altars; the Deuteronomic, with its efforts to centralize worship at the temple; and the priestly period, when centralization has been accomplished, and the stress falls on ritual acts and ceremonies — will have prepared the reader to understand the even more intricate process by which our older historical books, Judges, Samuel, and Kings, came into being. As we now read them they belong to the time of, or after, the Exile; but far the greater part of their substance is of much earlier date. One of the first steps in the origination of those books was the collection of a series of historical narratives concerning the lives and deeds of the so-called 'greater Judges' by some one who lived before the publication of Deuteronomy, and saw no harm in local sanctuaries. The narratives themselves were derived from various independent sources, written and unwritten, and of unequal historical value. The Song of Deborah, although not by her, is a contemporary production of the highest value. The story of Samson, on the other hand, looks very much like a mixture of a sun-myth with popular tales about a Danite champion against the Philistines. The histories of Gideon and Jephthah are severally made up of divergent versions of the same events, but contain genuine history. The account of Abimelech, a sort of tribal king, holds high rank as an old historical document. The religious spirit that pervades these narratives is sufficiently clear and evident; but the collector of them was led by patriotic impulse, not by any definite

religious purpose, and may thereby be distinguished from later redactors who enlarged and worked over his collection. About the same time — say between 700 and 650 B.C. — another collector brought together several previously separate memoirs of Samuel, Saul, and David. This collection contained, not all that we now read in our books of Samuel concerning these personages, but certainly their oldest and most thoroughly historical parts. The age of the different memoirs brought together varies. Two of them, devoted to David, belong to the reigns next after his. They furnish straightforward narratives, wholly free from the later tendency to idealize the great national hero. Another, of which Saul is the chief subject, may be by the same writer as the younger one of the two David memoirs, and is equally impartial and trustworthy. A fourth treated of Samuel and Saul, their respective histories and mutual relations. Its writer may be placed in the early part of the prophetic age. It differs remarkably from the older memoir of Saul, in that it views the kingship as an evil, the fruit of disloyalty to Jahveh, the divine king. The junction of these writings may be regarded as the first edition of the books of Samuel; though the younger David memoir also included the substance of 1 Kings, chaps. i. and ii. The first redaction of our books of Kings was made and published between 621 B.C. and 597 B.C.; i.e., after the discovery of Deuteronomy, but before the first deportation of Judaean captives (including King Jehoiachin) to Babylon. Its editor was not the first to compile a history of the Hebrew people from the time of David onward; for he constantly refers, to the very close of his work, to the 'Chronicles of the Kings of Judah' and Israel respectively; but he was the first, so far as we can see, to treat it from that religious point of view to which Deuteronomy gave expression and authority. He assumes that the limitation of sacrificial worship to one place, which according to that code would become obligatory as soon as Israel should enjoy peace, and Jahveh had chosen his dwelling-place (Deut. xii. 10 f.) — both of which conditions were realized only when the temple was built at Jerusalem — had been known to all Hebrew kings, and disregarded by most of them. Hence his judgment on every king of the northern state, except Elah and Shallum, on whose insignificant reigns he makes no comment (1 Kings xvi. 13 belongs to

a later editor), is one of condemnation. Even Jehu, the great Baal-destroyer, 'took no heed to walk in the law of Jahveh;' for 'he departed not from the sins of Jeroboam,' but kept up the schismatic cult established by that king. And with perfect impartiality he qualifies his approval of those Judaean kings who otherwise 'did what was right in the eyes of Jahveh' by adding, 'but the high places (i.e., the local altars) were not taken away; the people still sacrificed and burnt incense in the high places.' Among the sources used by this author, three are still clearly discernible. One was a biography of the prophet Elijah, dating from the eighth or ninth century. Another similar but later work treated of Elisha. The third was a biography of King Solomon, perhaps written a century or more after Solomon's death, but with the aid of older documents. How much material was derived from the above-mentioned Chronicles of the Kings of Israel and Judah cannot be determined. They are not appealed to as authority, but referred to for that which the author himself does not give. Still, the probability is that most of the distinctively political notices concerning accessions, usurpations, wars, royal building operations, etc., after the age of Solomon, were taken from them. At what point of the history the compiler's narrative began it is impossible to ascertain with certainty. Solomon was certainly included; and Solomon's reign, especially its opening, could not dispense with the history of David. It is therefore a reasonable conjecture, strengthened by various indications in the structure of the books, that the author of Kings took the first editions of the books of Samuel and Judges, as above described, very much as he found them, and wrote his own history from Solomon downward as a continuation of them. His work, then, when finished about 600 B.C., contained within itself the greater and more important portions of what is now found in three separate books, — Judges, Samuel, Kings. This work underwent more than one subsequent redaction. For one thing, Judges was enlarged by the addition of the notices of the so-called 'minor judges;' and (what is more noteworthy) many of its narratives were furnished with introductory and closing formulæ, designed to set forth what may be called the philosophy of the history. The substance of them is: Israel did evil in the sight of Jahveh, and were given over by Him to be op-

pressed by enemies. When in distress they cried to Him for help, Jahveh raised them up a deliverer, after which the land had rest. It is the Deuteronomic interpretation of history which we have already noted in the Book of Kings, but here expressed in a somewhat less definite form. The writer who introduced these formulæ also added the introductory section (now Jud. ii. 6–iii. 5), in which the same view is taught. A similar but less marked revision was also given to the sections concerning Samuel, Saul, and David. Finally an editor living in or after the exile, but before the publication of the priestly law (P), made various additions, insertions, transpositions, and divided the work into three parts, or books, viz., Judges, Samuel, and Kings. His work in one respect exhibits a stricter view of what the Deuteronomic code demands than was held by the original author of Kings, in that he condemns worship at the 'high places,' even before the building of the temple, which the latter does not, in proof of which compare their respective judgments on Solomon found in 1 Kings iii. 2, 4 (author), and verses 3, 15 (editor). This editor has been named the 'canonical redactor,' because the books left his hands substantially as they have come down to us. But that he was by no means the last reviser of them, may be seen by a comparison of the Hebrew text with that of the Greek translation called the Septuagint, which differs considerably, especially in Samuel and Kings. The division of Samuel and Kings into two books each, which first appears in the Septuagint, is merely formal. It was introduced into the printed Hebrew text by the printer Daniel Bomberg, A.D. 1517.

As might be expected, the new conceptions concerning the supreme importance of the priestly functions and the ritual of the temple, which found expression in the Priestly Code (P), led to new views of Israel's past history, and a new presentation of its course since the establishment of the monarchy. We cannot be sufficiently thankful that the new thought was not again superinduced upon the old historical books by renewed revision, but contented itself, in the main at least, with rewriting the history in its own way. This was done in Chronicles, properly one book, but like Samuel and Kings divided in the Septuagint into two. After the division of the kingdom, the book deals only with Judah.

Israel, wilfully separated from the temple and Levitical priesthood, has for the writer ceased to be a part of the chosen people. The author's great object is to throw the halo of antiquity and ancient glory around the special form assumed by the ecclesiastical institutions and ideas of the Jews in the time after the exile. His book consequently abounds in historical anachronisms and idealizations. His good faith, however, cannot be justly questioned, even when his statements must be considered untrustworthy. He is the product of his time, and records what after a century or two of transformation of historical tradition everybody has come to believe. The numerous sources to which he refers may all have been contained in one collective work, perhaps that which in 2 Chron. xxiv. 27 is called the Midrash ('commentary') of the Book of Kings; i.e., probably our books of Samuel and Kings enlarged with all sorts of excursive and discursive homiletical and illustrative additions. This would account for the many passages in Chronicles which verbally agree with passages in the older canonical books, while at the same time what is doubtless the same source is cited for what the latter do not contain. The author wrote after 330 B.C., probably half a century later. He is also the author or compiler of Ezra and Nehemiah, which originally formed one work with Chronicles. The latter ends abruptly, in the midst of a sentence the completion of which is found in Ezra i. 3. Ezra-Nehemiah relates the history of the restoration, or rather its prominent passages, from the return of the first exiles under Zerubbabel (538 B.C.), to the second arrival of Nehemiah in Jerusalem (B.C. 426?) This part of the chronicler's work, notwithstanding some confusions and inaccuracies, is invaluable. It is largely made up from memoirs by Ezra and Nehemiah themselves, together with other old sources.

Hebrew literature has one department to which no other ancient people furnishes a parallel, — the writings of the prophets. The word prophet commonly calls up the notion of one who foretells. It is of Greek derivation, and means either one who foretells or one who speaks for another. The latter is its proper, older signification, and is probably the sense in which they used it who first applied it to the Hebrew *nebiim*,—a word which appears to have had merely the force of 'speakers.' The Hebrews had many names and appellations for

their prophets, but not one of them signifies foreteller. The prophet spoke for God, as his representative, the interpreter of his will and purposes. He was the expounder of man's duties to his fellows and to his God; very often the admonisher and counsellor of kings and statesmen as to national interests and policy, and always the watchful guardian of the covenant relations between Jahveh and his people. He was pre-eminently a 'preacher to the times,' dealing with the future only to influence the present. His predictions were deductions from ethical and religious principles; for the most part conditional, and never made to relieve men of the burden of thought and responsibility, or to gratify the desire to know the unknown. It is necessary to bear this in mind in order to understand the writings of the prophets. These writings have come to us more nearly in their original form than those of the historians. We meet, however, with sections, larger or smaller, which cannot belong to the prophet in whose book they stand. In the book of Isaiah, for example, the whole second part, chaps. xl.–xlvi., belongs to a prophet or to a series of prophets who lived between the period comprised by the end of the captivity and the middle of the fourth century. The historical chaps., xxxvi.–xxxix., are taken from 2 Kings xviii. 13 ff.; chaps. xiii. and xiv., anticipatory of the capture of Babylon by the Medes and the liberation of the Jews, were written shortly before the events described, at least a century and a half after the death of Isaiah; chaps. xxiv.–xxvii., perhaps the most splended delineation of judgment and deliverance that ever came from prophetic pen, are of late post-exilic date; chaps. xxxiv. and xxxv., Jahveh's vengeance on Edom and Israel's return to Zion, belong to the close of the Exile. Similar inclusion of others' work is found in some other prophets also, though not to the same extent. The explanation of it is, that the older prophets were primarily speakers, and that while some of them (e.g., Hosea), committed the substance of what they had spoken to writing at the close of their activity, others wrote down single discourses from time to time, either as they delivered them, or as they saw opportunities of further usefulness for them. These discourses were afterward collected, but only rarely, if in any case, by themselves. In the case of a prominent prophet like Isaiah, whose career covered many years, the collecting effort might

go on long after his death, or be renewed from time to time. In this way such collections might finally come to include not only utterances written down by pupils or hearers of the author (of which Isa. xxxii. and xxxiii. perhaps furnish examples), but also productions of other, unknown prophets, that seemed to the collector to bear marks that justified such a course. The mere transcription of an anonymous writing on the same roll or series of parchment leaves with the work of a known prophet might lead to the ascription of both to the same author. But whatever its cause, it is evident that an error as to authorship becomes harmless as soon as it is recognized, and can in no case impair the intrinsic value of the writing concerning which it is made.

The prophetic books contain many passages of simple narrative; but a much larger part of them is couched in the style of impassioned oratory, interspersed with rhythmically constructed passages of the highest poetic merit, both as to form and thought. Most versions, by ignoring this diversity of form, and by translating words rather than the living current of thought and feeling, fail to afford their readers as much aid as they might toward understanding and appreciating the books. The order in which the prophetic writings appear in the canon is not that in which they originated; but to fix the true order, and the time of each prophet, with exactness, is difficult if not impossible. The series opens with Amos, a Judaean herdsman, who prophesied in the northern kingdom between 760 B.C. and 750 B.C. Hosea, a citizen of the northern kingdom, with which his prophecies also deal, was a younger contemporary of Amos. His activity is usually placed between 750 B.C. and 735 B.C. A similar relation obtained between Isaiah and Micah. The former lived and labored in the capital of Judah, during a most eventful time, for at least forty years, beginning in 740 B.C. The latter, a resident of an obscure village in or near the Philistine plain, began his work about 725 B.C. Jeremiah began to prophesy c. 628 B.C., and was still active in Egypt in 585 B.C., the year after the destruction of Jerusalem. Nahum is probably to be placed about 619 B.C.; Zephaniah in all probabilities some ten years earlier, certainly before 621 B.C.; and Habakkuk about 598 B.C. Then come the prophets of the Exile: Ezekiel, one of the first deportation, who began to preach in

593 B.C., six years before the fall of Jerusalem, and the great unknown author of the second part of Isaiah. Earliest of the post-exilic prophets are Haggai and Zechariah (i.e., chaps. i.–viii.; the time and authorship of chaps. ix.–xiv. are very uncertain), both of whom were active in Jerusalem in 520 B.C., the sixteenth year after the return. Obadiah's brief scroll may be placed indefinitely after 536 B.C.; the prophecies of Malachi anywhere in the fourth or third century B.C. The date of Joel is very uncertain, but is probably considerably later than 444 B.C. The Book of Jonah is a didactic writing, neither historical nor prophetical in the proper sense. It teaches, however, a noble lesson; viz., that God's mercy and forgiveness embrace every penitent, whatever his nationality; and, rightly understood, is not unworthy of a place among the writings of the prophets. It may have been written at almost any time after the Exile. The Book of Daniel also is not properly one of the prophetic books, and does not stand among them in the Hebrew Bible. It was written between 167 B.C. and 165 B.C., during the reign of Antiochus Epiphanes and his mad attempts to supplant Judaism by Greek heathenism, and furnishes valuable material to the historian of that struggle.

Hebrew poetry is more easily recognized than described. Its only constant formal feature is a rhythmic movement, which, while it is not syllabic metre, produces somewhat of its effect. The verse may be said to consist of a fixed number of thought pulsations so expressed as to produce lines of much the same length and number of accents. Another marked feature, of common though not absolutely constant occurrence, is what is called parellelism, i.e., the repetition of the thought of one line in a succeeding one in modified form and expression, or its explication and enforcement by means of its antithesis. The poetical books of the Old Testament are divided into two classes, — the lyrical and the didactic. The epic and the drama are not represented. The lyrical class includes the Psalter, Solomon's Song, and Lamentations; the didactic, Job, Proverbs, and Ecclesiastes. The Psalter is the hymn-book of the Second Temple. It is made up of psalms by different authors of various dates. The superscriptions, giving among other things the authors and sometimes the historical occasions of many of the psalms, are in nume-

rous instances demonstrably erroneous, and in all cases unreliable. That David was a poet is beyond doubt; that he composed sacred lyrics, and that some of them are in the Psalter, is highly probable: unfortunately it is impossible to identify them with any approach to certainty. The growth of the Psalter is largely a matter of conjecture. It was no doubt made up from smaller hymnals of earlier date, and assumed its present form after 165 B.C. The Book of Lamentations consists of five elegies, connected only by their common subject, which is the destruction of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar and the woes inflicted therein on the Jewish peeple. They have been ascribed to Jeremiah, but the internal evidence is against this. The unknown author must, however, have written not many years after the catastrophe. As to Solomon's Song, or better the Song of Songs (i.e., 'the most excellent song'), its high poetic merit is universally acknowledged. It appears to be a series of separate love songs or wedding ditties, though at what point between the age of Solomon and that of the Maccabees it was composed, must be left undecided. The one thing reasonably certain is, that its theme is love, and that the book is a representation of secular literature, which owes its admission into the Old Testament to the allegorical interpretation put upon it at a comparatively early date. The other species of poetical books, the didactic, are also grouped under the head of 'wisdom literature.' The 'wise men,' or sages, in pre-exilic days, formed a special class, and as such are named along with priests and prophets (Jer. xviii. 18). Wisdom, as understood and cultivated by them, constituted a species of practical life-philosophy. It sought to teach the art of right living and acting, and to explain the disharmony between certain ethical principles and the fortunes of individual men. The Book of Proverbs is especially devoted to the first part of this task, that of Job to the second. The Proverbs do not consist of sayings current among the people, but of sententiously expressed ethical judgments by 'wise men.' The book consists of eight parts, most of which are clearly marked by special titles or introductions. As to the age of the several parts opinions differ widely. Probably the greater portion of the book originated at different times between the beginning of the eighth century and the Exile; but the collection as a whole was not

finished until after the captivity. The Book of Job, by an unknown author, is one of the noblest productions of Hebrew literature. It turns on the discrepancy between the belief that God, being just, must mete out prosperity and adversity according to the moral deserts of men, and the facts of experience and observation. The history of Job — whether it be fictitious, real, or a mixture of both, is of small moment — furnishes the occasion and gives form to the discussion of this problem by the hero and three of his friends. They fail, however, to solve the problem, which is finally described by the Almighty himself as too high for human thought. The speeches of Elihu (chaps. xxxii.–xxxvii.), another friend of Job, whose appearance on the scene is wholly unprepared for, are generally regarded as a later addition. The date of the work is uncertain, but there is no good reason for placing it later than between 500 and 400 B.C. Ecclesiastes, usually reckoned among the poetical books, is scarcely entitled to that honor, being mostly plain prose. In the 'wisdom' literature, also, it holds a unique position, by reason of its pessimistic views of human life. Its tone is one of depression and sadness. Life is hardly worth living. The future is as dark as the present. Yet the author somehow maintains firm faith in God, His wisdom and justice. Who or what he was is unknown, but he lived after the captivity. There are reasons for placing him as late as 300 or even after 250 B.C.

The literature hitherto considered may be regarded as the free outflowing of Hebrew national genius, life, and character. Many other works were produced from the third century B.C., until after the final dissolution of the Jewish nationality. But, excepting purely historical data, they add little or nothing to what the Old Testament contains. A few of them are strongly influenced by Greek thought; all of them give evidence of the exhaustion of the old originality and vigor. They represent all departments of literature found in the Old Testament canon, except law codifications. The place of the prophets is taken by Apocalyptic writers, of whom Daniel is a specimen in the canon. These writers unveil the hidden things of the present and the future, but in a form which itself is as enigmatic as the hidden things themselves. To this class belong Baruch, the Book of Enoch, the Sibylline Oracles, the Assumption

of Moses, and the Second Book of Esdras. The Wisdom of Solomon and Ecclesiasticus, placed among the Apocrypha of the English Bible, belong to the 'wisdom literature.' Of the latter, considerable portions of the original Hebrew text have recently been found. Romance, to which in the canon the attractive idyl of Ruth and the story of Esther belong, is represented by Judith and Tobit. The Psalms are imitated in the Psalter of Solomon, a Pharisaic production of the time of Pompey's conquest of Jerusalem (B.C. 63), and after; and the historical books are represented by the first Esdras, chiefly a rehash of the facts contained in Ezra and Nehemiah, and by the books of the Maccabees (First and Second), invaluable as sources for the period of the heroes after which they are named.

One work must yet be mentioned, which, though belonging to the humbler literary rank of translations, is yet better entitled to a place in a general ancient history than much of the secondary literature just spoken of. It is the Greek version of the Old Testament called the Septuagint, i.e., the Seventy. The Jewish story of its origin (the substance of which the curious may read in Josephus, *Ant.*, 12, chap. ii.), adopted and improved by Christian writers, is almost, if not entirely, without foundation in facts. The work was probably prompted by the religious needs of the Alexandrian Jews, and began about B.C. 250 with the translation of 'the law,' i.e., the Pentateuch. It was carried on by different hands for several generations, until all the books of the Old Testament, and such of the Apocrypha as were originally written in Hebrew or Aramaic, were included in it. The difficulties of the undertaking were very great. Most of the translators were thorough masters of neither of the languages they had to deal with, and their task involved the finding of Greek expressions for ideas which no Greek mind had ever conceived or heard of. The result was unavoidably imperfect, frequently obscure, not seldom wholly unintelligible. Yet this version shaped the thinking of Greek-speaking Jews and Christians, and through the medium of translations of it, made without reference to the Hebrew original, of all Latin Christendom, for ages; and though its powerful influence was not without its shadow side, it was, upon the whole, a boon of priceless value. The revival of learning and the awakening of the historico-critical spirit may be said to have ended that phase of

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אל יהוה ואמרו אליו כל
תשא עון וקח טוב
ונשלמה פרים שפתינו
אשור לא יושיענו על
סוס לא נרכב ולא נאמר
עוד אלהינו למעשה
ידינו אשר בך ירחם יתום
ארפא משובתם אהבם
נדבה כי שב אפי ממנו
אהיה כטל לישראל
יפרח כשושנה ויך

וידעם כי ישרים דרכי
יהוה וצדיקים ילכו בם
ופשעים יכשלו בם

דבר יהוה אשר היה אל
יואל בן פתואל שמעו
זאת הזקנים והאזינו כל
יושבי הארץ ההיתה
זאת בימיכם ואם בימי

ינקתיו ויהי כזית הודו
וריח לו כלבנון ישבו
ישבי בצלו יחיו דגן
ויפרחו כגפן זכרו כיין
לבנון אפרים מה לי עוד
לעצבים אני עניתי
ואשורנו אני כברוש
רענן ממני פריך נמצא
מי חכם ויבן אלה נבן

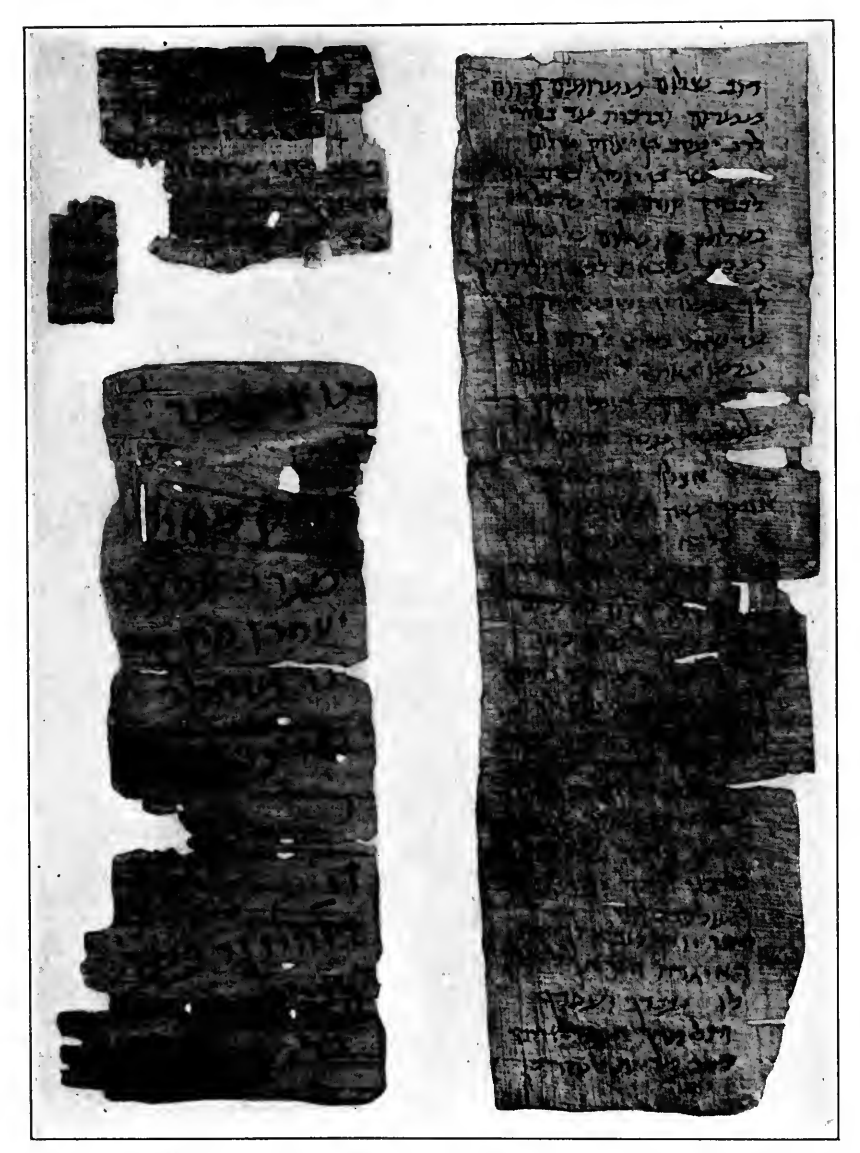
ספרו ובניכם לבניהם
ובניהם לדור אחר יתר
הגזם אכל הארבה ויתר
הארבה אכל הילק
ויתר הילק אכל החסיל
הקיצו שכורים ובכו
והיללו כל שתי יין על
עסיס כי נכרת מפיכם
כי גוי עלה על ארצי

Hebrew Manuscript of the Prophets (916 A. D.), with the Babylonian Punctuation.

At St. Petersburg. Hosea xiv. 3—Joel i. 6. Facsimile in thirteen-sixteenths of original size.

History of All Nations, Vol. II., page 153.

PLATE VII.—*A*.



Papyrus of the first century A. D., containing the Decalogue in Hebrew. Oldest fragment of a Hebrew MS. of the Old Testament.

[Reproduced by the courtesy of the Clarendon Press, Oxford.]

its life; but it introduced it into a new one of not inferior value. For it is to-day our oldest witness of the text of the Old Testament books, and in many cases enables us to restore the Hebrew text, which through various causes is frequently corrupt. To understand this, it must be remembered that all manuscripts of the Hebrew Old Testament are comparatively recent. The Jews of the Christian centuries, so far from seeking to preserve manuscripts, rather hastened their destruction as soon as they began to grow old and unserviceable, in order to save them from possible profanation. Hence, what until recently was the oldest manuscript of a portion of the Old Testament and is still the oldest manuscript in book-form, a fac-simile page of which is here given, bears the date of A.D. 916 (PLATE VII.). It contains only the prophetical books. An important copy of the Pentateuch now in the British Museum is dated by Dr. Ginsburg between A.D. 820 and 850, and quite recently Cambridge University Library has come into possession of a portion of a Hebrew papyrus from the Fayûm district, containing the Decalogue, and which may with safety be dated as early as the first century A.D. (PLATE VII. *A.*) But while this discovery holds out the hope of our finding considerable portions of Old Testament manuscripts also of early date, at present only a few manuscripts are extant of even the tenth and eleventh centuries after Christ. Now, it is true that numerous versions made from the second Christian century onward, especially the Aramaic paraphrases (Targums) and the Syriac and Latin translations, enable us to trace our present Hebrew text far beyond the age of any extant manuscripts; but, prior to the second century of our era, the Septuagint is still our chief witness, and as we approach the date of its origin, our only witness, and is frequently as valuable when it departs from the Hebrew as when it agrees with it.

BOOK II.

THE EMPIRE OF THE PERSIANS.

THE EMPIRE OF THE PERSIANS.

FROM ABOUT 550 B.C. TO 680 A.D.

CHAPTER VII.

THE ACHAEMENIDAE.

WE have seen that of the Aryo-Iranian tribes the Parsa, or Persians, extended farthest toward the southwest. Under the leadership of their chiefs or kings of the race of Hakhamani, or Achaemenes, belonging to the tribe of the Pasargadae, it was not difficult for them to occupy Susiana, thoroughly disorganized as it was by civil wars and by the Assyrians. Here, from about the year 600 B.C., reigned Chaispis, or Teispes, the son of Hakhamani, his son Kurus (Cyrus), and his grandson, Kambuzhiya, or Cambyses, the father of Cyrus the Great, who mounted the throne in 558 B.C., three years before the accession of Nabonidus. Eight years later Cyrus overthrew the Median kingdom. An inscription discovered by Rassam in Sippara states that the Babylonian king rebuilt the temple of the Moon at Harran, which, founded by Shalmaneser (857-829), and repaired by Asurbanipal, had been destroyed by the barbarians, the *tsab manda*, or Medes. This signifies that Babylonia, after the fall of the Median kingdom, had conquered Upper Mesopotamia, which, with Assyria, had fallen into the hands of the Medes. Concerning the conquest of the Median kingdom itself, the inscription relates that Cyrus, king of Anzan (Susiana), defeated the barbarians, and plundered the treasures of Agamtanu, or Ecbatana. The king, Ishtuvegu (Astyages), who was delivered over by his own people, was carried as a prisoner to the land of Cyrus. Thereupon Cyrus followed up the victory, and passed beyond Arbela and the Tigris. He attacked a vassal of Babylon, but seems not to have ventured to strike the

decisive blow, as the Babylonians in all probability had a very solid footing at Sippara, owing to Nebuchadnezzar's system of dykes and flood-gates.

Babylonia and Lydia were prompted by the peril to form a league, which was joined also by Sparta and the Pharaoh Amasis, though the latter offered no military assistance. Croesus of Lydia was the first to assume the offensive. He crossed the river Halys, which was the boundary of the former Median kingdom, and captured the fortress of Pteria. The junction of the allied armies was prevented by Cyrus's rapid measures: a battle was fought, the result of which seems to have been indecisive. Croesus, at all events, believed that the Persians would not immediately risk a second engagement, and withdrew to Sardis. But Cyrus hastened across the Halys, defeated the Lydians on the plain of the Hermus, in a place called by the Greeks Cyru-pedion, or the Plain of Cyrus, and at the end of two weeks was master of the citadel of Sardis. This was during the autumn of 546 B.C. Croesus was taken prisoner, and assigned a residence in the city of Barene, near Ecbatana. Cyrus returned to Asia, leaving the conquest of Asia Minor to be completed by his generals. A revolt of Pactyes, a tributary prince of Lydia, was crushed by Mazares. The Greeks of the coast and the Lycians, the latter after an obstinate struggle, were reduced to subjection by the Mede Harpagus, who, from personal enmity to Astyages, had persuaded a portion of the Median army to go over to the Persians. The Syennesis of Cilicia yielded without striking a blow, and was consequently reinstated in his ancestral dignity. The Paphlagonians also retained their own princes, and these continued to rule during the later centuries.

The conquest of the Babylonian Empire was now to follow. Particulars in regard to this are furnished us by the inscription of Cyrus, discovered in 1879, and first deciphered by Sir Henry Rawlinson. The invasion was made from Susiana; in the month of Tammuz (June–July), 539 B.C., Nabonidus was defeated near Ratu in Pikudu. This city is the Rata mentioned by Ptolemy, and is known to-day as Abu-Sharein (cf. Pekod, Jer. l. 21). Sippara fell on the fourteenth day of Tammuz; and two days later Ugbaru, or Gobryas, governor of Gutium (Kurdistan), entered Babylon without battle.

A company of men from Gutium intrenched themselves in Babil (Bit-Saggatu); but their lack of weapons prevented them from accomplishing anything. Cyrus accordingly made his entrance on the third day of Markhesvan (October–November). Nabonidus was captured, and died on the eleventh day of the same month. He was mourned for six days. Cyrus then accepted the oath of allegiance, and appointed Gobryas governor. Afterwards he made his own son Cambyses the viceroy of Babylon. The easy conquest of the city may be attributed partly to Nabonidus's weakness, partly to the fact that Cyrus had previously gained the good will of the inhabitants. In this connection the inscription says that Cyrus restored to the peaceful occupancy of their temples the gods of Sumir and Akkad, which Nabonidus, with the view of centralizing the worship, had brought to Babylon, greatly to the distress of Merodach, Lord of the Gods. The priests fomented the popular indignation at the removal of the statues of the gods to Babylon, and this was used to excite hatred against Nabonidus as a religious innovator. Cyrus, on the other hand, appeared as the protector of the received religion; he himself offers thanks to the gods Bel, Nebo, and Merodach. Among the Jews he was likewise called the Anointed of the Jahveh because he allowed them to return from their exile, and rebuild the temple of Jerusalem. He was confident that the Jews, in return for this treatment of them, would remain his devoted adherents.

According to the account of Berosus and the Greeks, Cyrus engaged last with the nomads on the northern border of Iran. He was wounded in battle, and shortly afterwards died, in 529 B.C. It was by his great vigilance and activity that he succeeded in establishing the universal sway of the Persian monarchy, but this was also due in large measure to favorable circumstances. In the countries to be subjugated, there had come to be such a precarious state of affairs that a conqueror was assured of success; and, moreover, all the nations of western Asia had already become accustomed to look toward Nineveh, and afterwards to Babylon, as the seat of power. In Egypt also it was only a restoration of the Babylonian dominion that was afterwards accomplished by Cambyses; and if the new monarch ruled equitably, as was the case with Cyrus, it would in reality be a matter of indifference whether he were a native of

Mesopotamia or of some province lying farther to the east. Cyrus, on the other hand, extended the kingdom conquered from the Babylonians and Medes to the eastward over countless Aryan tribes as far as India, which had hitherto not been the case. When the dynasty of Cyrus was brought to an end by the death of his son Cambyses without issue, the disputed succession to the throne caused an uproar throughout the entire realm, and the native princes, hitherto restrained by force of arms, strove to recover their lost authority; and it was only when these rebels were overcome that the kingdom of Cyrus was reëstablished on a permanent foundation.

Cyrus was buried at Pasargadae. The king is said to have built this city on the spot where Astyages was taken prisoner. If this statement be true, then Pasargadae must be sought in the north of Persis, not far from the boundary of the Median kingdom. If it be false, the fabrication would be inexplicable, had it not been suggested by its geographical position. It lay a short distance to the north of Persepolis, as is attested by the existence of Achaemenian monuments belonging to a time anterior to Darius, in the region north of Persepolis. The political and religious centre of Persis in ancient times was formed by the valley through which ran the rivers Araxes or Cyrus (Kur), and the Medus. The former flows through the provinces of Main, Kam-Firuz, and Kallar. Just before it reaches the Princes' Bridge (Pul-i-Khan), it is re-enforced by the latter, which has already followed a long course, though with less water than the Kur; and the united rivers, flowing through the province of Kur-bal, empty into the lake of Nairiz. The Medus, now called Pulvar, rises, like the Kur, in the western mountains, and takes a southwesterly course a short distance above Murghab. The plain, which is divided by the pass of Sivend, is made very fertile by its waters. The northernmost portion contains the ruins of the buildings of Cyrus; the southernmost, those of Darius and his successors. The best-known monument at Pasargadae is the Tomb of Cyrus (Fig. 30), a chamber made of great blocks of marble of Grecian workmanship, built upon six square bases, or steps, the lowest of which is composed of two layers of stone, and decorated at the foot with a moulding. The building is covered with a gable roof, and has a corona and door-casing in profile, all in Grecian style. The

chamber bears a very close resemblance to the mortuary monuments of Lycia and Pamphylia. The total height of the edifice, including the steps, is about thirty-six feet. At some distance the tomb is surrounded on three sides by columns of Ionic origin, which seem to have been added at a later time, being brought from some other building, in all probability the palace, to serve as an enclosure for a cemetery. We know that Alexander caused the tomb to be opened. The little door, and the beautiful growth of trees which overshadowed the tomb, were at that time conspicuous features. According to Arrian and Strabo, there were found in the tomb a couch with golden feet, covered with a Babylonian rug, purple raiment, a sword, a table with drinking-cups, a golden sarcophagus, and jewelled neck and ear ornaments. The couch may have been like those in use in Lydia, or like the one of Assyrian pattern pictured on a bronze, with scenes from the under-world, which was discovered by Clermont-Ganneau. According to Curtius, who follows the account of Clitarchus, an eye-witness at the time of Alexander's visit, nothing was found in the tomb but a shield, two Scythian bows, and a sword. An attempt has been made to reconcile the two contradictory accounts by assuming that there were two distinct examinations of the tomb, the first of which was followed by a robbery. At a short distance was situated the House of the Magi, which served as a residence for the guards of the tomb; the walls of this building up to a certain height are still in position. The Palace of Cyrus, now called the Court of the Divs, is demolished, leaving only a few fragments, by means of which Dieulafoy reconstructed an edifice, composed of a central hall with four double columns, including a portico on all four sides; at the corners were smaller rooms, the corner-posts of which, made of immense blocks of marble, are still standing; these have on one side a broad, deep rabbet-joint for the union with the brick wall. On the outer side can be seen the inscription of the builder in Persian, Suso-Median, and Babylonian: "I, Cyrus, the King, the Achaemenian (have built this)." Higher up, the pillars are notched in such a way that the position of the wooden beams can be conjectured. They were laid precisely as in the construction of Lycian tombs, which imitate timber-work. One beam serves as a foundation, upon which are laid two close together, so that the archi-

trave is broken into two faces, the highest projecting; the ends of the closely laid cross-beams jut out over the architrave, so as to form the serrate frieze characteristic of Lycian mortuary architecture. Upon these cross-beams was laid the flat wooden roof, which in turn was covered with a solid stratum of clay. One single column of the central hall is left standing; like those around the Tomb of Cyrus, it rests upon a flat socle. It is smooth, thirty-six feet in height, and three and one-half feet in diameter. The capital



Fig. 30. — Tomb of Cyrus at Pasargadae. (After Dieulafoy.)

has disappeared. The bases of six other columns of this hall, as well as one belonging to the portico in the rear, are still extant. The lowest parts of the gateway remain, showing on one side the feet of a man, and the talons of a bird walking behind him; on the other, six naked human feet, evidently belonging originally to a relievo representation of Cyrus and two servants. A little to the eastward of these ruins stands the pillar with the relief of a winged genius (Fig. 31), an imitation of Assyrian sculpture; the helmet which the figure wears recalls Nebuchadnezzar's (see p. 182, Vol. I.); the crown over the ram's horns is the same as Ataf, the crown of

Khnum (p. 50, Vol. I.), worn also by Maluli at Philae, and occasionally by Osiris and the youthful Horus. Their form and significance were known to the sculptor through Phoenicia. It may seem strange that Cyrus should have had his own form, Fravashi, or immortal part, thus represented; but the older drawings and reproductions of the monolith



FIG. 31. — Relief of Cyrus at Pasagardae. (After Ker Porter.)

give an inscription identical with that mentioned on p. 161, so that, despite the loss of the inscription to-day, there is no real question as to the identity, nor as to the fact that Cyrus had the pillar erected.

Farther to the eastward are found the ruins of a square tower called Zindan, 'the prison,' with walls nearly seven feet in thickness. The cornice, only one block of which is in position, is

decorated with dentils as in the Lycio-Grecian rock-tombs. At a considerable elevation is an aperture about two feet in width, reached by a flight of steps. We shall find a similar edifice near Persepolis. Farther in the direction of Meshed-i-Murghab, there lies on the side of a hill, fifty or sixty feet high, an immense marble terrace, called Takht-i Mader-i Suleiman, 'the throne of the Mother of Solomon.' It is over two hundred and sixty feet in width, laid with rough hewn blocks set together without mortar. This terrace also is the work of Greek architects, brought from Lydia by Cyrus himself. As it shows no trace of a palace, it is probable that at the death of Cambyses it was in the same condition in which we still see it, and that it was not brought to completion owing to the removal of the royal residence to Persepolis.

The inscriptions on the pillars of Cyrus's palace show that he caused characters to be used especially adapted to the genius of the ancient Persian language. These were derived from the Babylonian syllabic writing, which was modified for the purpose into an alphabetical one. The characters thus derived show traces of syllabic origin, inasmuch as certain consonants have different signs according as they stand before *a*, *i*, or *u*. For the thirty-six signs of the alphabet, thirty-six Babylonian ideograms were selected, and these ideograms received the same sounds with which the Persian word corresponding to the meaning of the ideogram began: for example, the ideogram which in Babylonian means 'to rule' (*sa*) was used to express *a*, because in Persian 'lord' is *ahura*. The ideograms were also simplified. The Babylonian are often composed of eight or nine wedges; in the Persian alphabet only from three to five were employed. Thus arose from the Babylonian ideogram , 'work,' the Persian *k* , because the word for 'work,' *kartam*, begins with *k*; from , 'edict,' arose , *d*, because 'law' was *data;* from , 'text,' came , d^i, because 'text' in Persian is *dipi;* from , 'cloud,' came d^u, because 'cloud' is *duma*. The name Kuru, or Cyrus, means 'sun,' and is perhaps a Susan word (Kuras), for Cyrus's Persian name was Agradates. Hence for the sign k^u the Babylonian ideogram for 'sun' was chosen in Per-

sian . The Persian word for 'great' or 'broad' is *uru*, and the Babylonian ideogram for this concept served as the pattern for the Persian sign *u*, ; finally for r^u the ideogram for 'word,' , was chosen, and became (*ruta* in Sanskrit); so that the name of Cyrus involved the concepts of 'sun' and 'great word' in a sort of hieroglyphic symbolism. A small number of ideograms for words in common use, such as 'king,' 'land,' 'name,' 'son,' and the like were also simplified, and transferred into Persian script; yet all these words were expressed likewise in letters. This new script was first used after the capture of Babylon in 538 B.C.

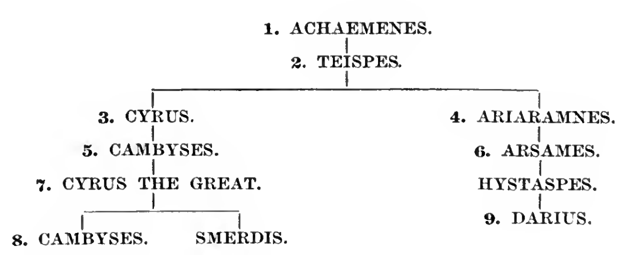
Cambyses, or Kambuzhiya, the elder son of Cyrus and of Cassandane, came, in August, 530 B.C., into possession of this colossal empire, which embraced all the civilized lands of the east, with the exception of Egypt. Preparations were accordingly made to invade the land of the Pharaohs. The inhabitants of Phoenicia and Cyprus were ordered to support the attack by their war-vessels. The Arabians were obliged to have camels with water-bottles in readiness for the journey through the desert. Phanes of Halicarnassus, a mercenary who had deserted from Egypt, served as guide. Psammetichus III., who in 526 succeeded Amasis on the Egyptian throne, found himself obliged immediately to take the field. Near Pelusium the Persians won a complete victory over the Egyptians, who fled in confusion to Memphis. Cambyses sent a Mytilenean boat with a herald demanding the surrender of the city. The Egyptians, contrary to the law of nations, destroyed the ship, and put the crew to death. The Persians carried by storm the Het-Sebt, or White Citadel, of Memphis, where the nomarch and the tutelary gods of the city had their habitation. By decree of the council of war, ten Egyptians were executed for every one of the murdered men, and a son of the Pharaoh perished among the number. Psammetichus was taken, but Cambyses seems to have thought it expedient so reinstate him as governor of the country. He allowed himself, however, to be drawn into a conspiracy, and was executed. The inhabitants of Libya and

Cyrene, terror-stricken, sent tribute to the Persians. This was in the spring of the year 525 B.C. The Persian Aryandes was appointed governor. There is preserved in the Vatican a statue of a high official of Saïs, whose name was Hor-uza-suten-net or Uza-hor-sun. This statue, which was brought to the attention of the public by Winckelmann, has been unfortunately restored as a woman. The inscription informs us that the king Kambathet (Cambyses) assumed the cognomen Mesut-ra, 'Child of Ra,' and had been introduced into the mysteries of Neith by Hor-uza-suten-net, who had been appointed chief physician to the king; that the king gave orders to purify the temple of the goddess by driving out the soldiers and strangers quartered there, and breaking up their booths, and that he had restored the worship of the goddess according to ancient rites. The king himself fulfilled the religious ceremonies incumbent upon the Pharaohs. Hor-uza-suten-net was the representative of his people, and helped facilitate the transition to the new order of things. He still retained his office after the accession of Darius, as is shown by the rest of the inscription. There was no motive for representing Cambyses as more gracious than was warranted by the truth, for the inscription was not composed until long after his death.

Having mastered Egypt, Cambyses determined to extend his sway over the other countries of Africa. The conquest of Carthage was thwarted by the unwillingness of the Phoenicians to wage war against their own colony; but as Phoenicia was a subject state, there was at least a semblance of suzeranity over Carthage. A detachment of troops sent against the Oasis of Amun (Siwa) was overwhelmed by a sirocco in the Sahara, between the oases of Dakhileh and Farafrah. The enterprise against the Ethiopians was successful. The capital Meroë, or Napata, on Mount Barkal, was taken; and a number of negro tribes were conquered, and compelled to pay every three years a tribute of gold, ivory, ebony, and slaves. The kings of Ethiopia, in consequence of the Persian conquest, transferred their capital to the southern Meroë. Cambysu-tamieia, or the Magazine of Cambyses, was founded on the western bank of the Nile, near the third cataract, and is mentioned by Ptolemy as still in existence in his day. In the reign of Darius, Kushiya, or Ethiopia, and Putiya (Somali) appear as tribute-paying lands; and

Ethiopians, served in the host of Xerxes against Hellas. The return march of the Persians was made directly through the desert from Abu-Hamed to Korosko, so as to cut off the great bend of the Nile at Dongola; and a large part of the army perished of starvation. The Egyptians ascribed to Cambyses various fanatical deeds, which are reiterated by Strabo; but they lack probability from the fact that certain evident mistakes occur among them. The destruction of the northern colossus of Memnon at Thebes is attributed to him in a poetical inscription in Greek, graven on the leg: but this statue was not injured by Cambyses; it was destroyed by an earthquake in 27 B.C. The robbery of the statues of the gods by the Persians, recorded in the decree of Canopus of the year 238 B.C., in reality took place later under Ochus. The story also of the killing of the Apis on the return from Ethiopia seems to be a fiction. In direct contradiction to any such sacrilege on the part of Cambyses, is the evidence of a stele on which the king is represented as worshipping the deceased Apis; and the inscription declares that the dead god was borne to the necropolis, and placed in a tomb which his majesty had caused to be prepared for him. The story of the desecration of the tomb of Amasis, told by Herodotus, is open to suspicion, from the fact that it would have happened before the outbreak of the mad deeds attributed to Cambyses. It rests, in all probability, upon a misconception. In the ruins of the temple of Isis, at Rome, there was brought to light, in 1883, among other Egyptian works of art, a sphinx of Amasis. The nose and uraeus-serpent, or symbol of royalty, were broken off; and the cartouche was chiselled away. It must be taken for granted that the nose and uraeus must have been restored when the statue was brought to Rome. The mutilation is rightly referred to the time of the conquest of Egypt. The king's name on the statue of Amasis of the Villa Albani, and on the obelisk of Hophra in the Iseum, is also chiselled out. In all these cases the damage appears to have been done by Egyptian priests; it is a safe inference that Amasis, through the favor which he showed to foreigners, had won the hatred of the patriots and priests, who may have hailed Cambyses as the saviour of society and religion, because, after his father's example, he paid homage to the gods of the vanquished land.

While still in Egypt, Cambyses, fearing an insurrection, caused his brother Bardiya (Median, Barziya) to be put to death. Gaumata, a Magian from Media, took advantage of his long absence, and the secrecy attending the death of Bardiya, to give himself out as Bardiya, or Smerdis, and to incite the Persians to revolt from Cambyses (March, 522 B.C.). The Mede actually became king, as is proved by two Babylonian contract-tablets dating from 'the twentieth Elul and the first Tisri, in the first year of the reign of Barziya.' Cambyses hastened back from Egypt; but at Ecbatana in Syria (Hamath), he committed suicide, apparently in an access of remorse for his brother's murder, which had been the cause of the insurrection that he desired to prevent (end of August, 522 B.C.). By the death of Cambyses the house of Cyrus, in the male line, became extinct; for of his issue only Atossa, his daughter, and a granddaughter, Parmys, were living. A collateral line, however, was still flourishing in Persis. Teispes, the son of Achaemenes, had two sons, Cyrus and Ariaramnes. The former, as we have seen, after the destruction of the kingdom of Elam, had gained the mastery of that country. Cyrus was succeeded in Susa by the elder Cambyses. Ariaramnes was succeeded in Persia by his son Arsames. Cyrus the Great united Persis with the rest of the realm, so that, though Arsames continued the nominal king, he was only a vassal; and his son Hystaspes (Vishtaspa) did not come to the throne, but was intrusted with the satrapy of Hyrcania. Thus, at the death of Cambyses, eight Achaemenian kings had wielded the sceptre. Hence Darius, the son of Hystaspes, was justified in having himself enrolled in the inscription of Behistun as the ninth in the line, the usurper, the false Smerdis, not being counted. This is illustrated in the following genealogical tree, in which the kings are put in numerical order.



Darius, or Darayavaush (Fig. 32), who had more energy than his father Hystaspes, regained the sceptre for his family. Gaumata, the false Smerdis, was a Mede; and if he had been acknowledged as king, the sovereignty would have been torn from the Persians. The Magian had destroyed the temples, seized the meeting-places (possibly the courts of assembly where the tribes consulted in regard to their internal affairs), and confiscated goods and houses. The mention of temples is of profound significance; for since Cyrus in all probability, and Darius without doubt, already professed the religion of Zoroaster (Zarathrushtra), the chief god of which was called Ahura Mazda, then the Magian, or Mede, must have been hostile to this religion of the Achaemenidae. But we know that the Avesta, the sacred book of the Persians, such as we have it to-day, was composed in Media; accordingly we must presuppose essential differences between the Median form of Zoroastrism and that held by the ancient Persians. One of them, the rejection of temples by the Medes, who had only fire-altars, and the existence of temples among the Persians, is illustrated by the Behistun inscription. The expression *ayadana*, meaning 'places of prayer,' is rendered in the Babylonian translation as 'houses of the gods.' Another difference between the two forms of religion is shown in the treatment of the dead: the Persians covered dead bodies with wax, and laid them in tombs hewn in the rocks; the Medes, like their neighbors the Caspians, and their kin the Zirehgeran in the neighborhood of Derbent, and to a certain extent also the Parthians, gave their dead to be devoured by dogs and birds of prey. In this connection it has been thought that the Persians, like the Semites and the Egyptians, believed in a shadowy continuation of the departed, whereas the Medes held to the immortality of the soul, but attached no importance to the preservation of the body. The introduction of the Median custom among the Persians also, at the time of the Sassanids, was probably facilitated by the doctrine that the earth was desecrated by burial in the same way as fire was polluted by the cremation of the body. Furthermore Dualism, one of the most characteristic features of Mazdaism, was unknown to the Persians. In the inscriptions, Ahura Mazda is the supreme deity, in opposition to whom no hostile god exerts rival powers; Ahriman is never mentioned in

them. The rebels against authority are not led astray by Ahriman and the Divs; it is simply said of each that he is a liar. Dualism presupposes two coequal spirits, the good and the evil or destructive; in the same way the Slavs had their white spirit and black. As early as in the period of the Achaemenians, however, in the fourth century B.C., the good spirit seems to have become identified with Ahura Mazda, and the Dualism of the Medes to have coalesced with the Monotheism of the Persians; yet in the time of the Sassanians, speculation about the twofold division of the universe caused the rise of many sects. It was eight centuries later before the belief of the Medes, which Gaumata proposed to introduce, gained the ascendancy; and it was then that the Avesta as we possess it was accepted under the Sassanids as the sacred book of the state religion. The Median sect preserved numerous elements which had been component parts of the old Suso-Median faith, and had become blended with that of the Aryan Arizanti of Media, while the Persians had preserved in much of its primitive simplicity the teaching of Zoroaster, which had been brought from the East, and was an outgrowth of the old nature worship of the Aryans.



FIG. 32. — Portrait of Darius (after the *Desc. de l'Égypt*).

Darius, coming forward against the usurper, saw himself, therefore, confronted by a religious, political, and social reaction, having as its object the restoration of the ancient Median sovereignty. The victory which he won made him the second founder of the Persian dominion. The Magian had his headquarters at the Median castle of Sikayahuvati, in the plain of Nisaya, which is to be looked for to the northeast of Hamadan. Darius marched against him, accompanied by the following six Persians of noble birth: Vindafrana, son of Vayaspara; Utana, son of Thukhra; Gaubaruva, son of Marduniya; Vidarna, son of Bagabigna; Bagabukhsa, son of Daduhya; Ardumanis, son of Vahauka. Herodotus calls them Intaphernes, Otanes, Gobryas,

Hydarnes, Megabyzus, and Aspathines; thus only the last name in his account is wrong, but there is an Aspathines (Aspachana) mentioned in an inscription as the quiver-bearer of Darius. The Magian was defeated (April 2, 521 B.C.), but his defeat was not decisive. The Medes once more raised a formidable insurrection, and attempted to win back their former supremacy. The other lands belonging to the kingdom, which held together only loosely by force of conquest — Persia, Susiana, Assyria, Egypt, Parthia, Margiana, Sattagydia, and the Sacians — also raised the standard of revolt. The king and his faithful followers were compelled to fight nineteen battles, according to the inscription of Behistun, ere peace was restored. In May, 521 B.C., Susiana revolted under Athrina, a man, if we judge from his father's name, Umpadaranma, belonging to the ancient royal family of Susiana. Simultaneously in Babylon, Nidintabel, son of Ainira, gave himself out as Nebuchadnezzar, the son of the last king of Babylon. Athrina was captured and put to death. Darius marched with an army against Babylonia; in December, 521 B.C., a battle was fought on the Tigris; five or six days later a second encounter followed; Nidintabel threw himself into the city of Babylon, which was invested and shortly afterwards captured by Darius. The false Nebuchadnezzar was executed. A contract-tablet mentions the name of Darius as early as the fourteenth of the month Adar, corresponding to the beginning of March, 520 B.C. During the siege, Darius sent his generals to bring the other insurgents to terms. A second rebel in Susiana, from Kuganaka in Persis (Gannakan near Kazerun), Martiya, declared himself the Imanis. In Susanian, Umman is a god. Darius succeeded in turning the Susians from him, probably after he had conquered Fravartish. Fravartish, or Phraortes, gave himself out as Sattarritu (in Persian, Khsathrita), a descendant of Vakistara (Persian, Huvakhsatara, Cyaxares), and sought to re-establish the Median kingdom, whereupon the tribes that had formerly been subject to the Medes sided with him. The generals of Darius were unsuccessful in their campaigns during the winter and spring of 520 B.C., and awaited the coming of Darius. In several parts of the kingdom of Cyrus the sovereignty of the Persians was in the highest degree endangered. After order was restored in Babylon, Darius hastened

to the aid of his generals. In July, 520 B.C., he encountered Fravartis, who had been proclaimed king of Media, near the city of Kundurus, in the neighborhood of Kasbin, northwest of Teheran. The rebel prince was put to flight, and was taken prisoner. Darius caused him to be deprived of nose, ears, tongue, and eyes, and after he had thus been exhibited in public had him crucified in the Median capital, Ecbatana, where his companions were thrown into prison. In Sagartia, on the western border of Khorasan, now arose Chithrantakhma, or Thritantaechmes, and gave himself out as a descendant of the Median kings. But he shared the fate of Fravartish; the general, Takhmaspada, a Mede, took him prisoner, and he was crucified in Arbela. Aid was sent to Vishtaspa, the father of Darius, who led one of the armies of his son; and a victory won near Patigrabana, at the end of July, 520 B.C., made him master in Parthia. The more distant Median province of Margiana was won back to the realm by Dadarsish, satrap of Bactria, who accomplished this task in November, 519. While the Persians were battling in Armenia, a rebellion broke out in Persis; here Vayazdata gave himself out in Tarava (Tarim, in eastern Persis), the capital of the province of Yutiya, as Bardiya, the brother of Cambyses. Darius was on the eve of making a journey from Babylon to Media, and he sent Artavardiya to Persis. A first encounter took place in May, 520 B.C., near the border at Rakha, on the site of the later Arghan. The rebel fell back upon Paisiyahuvada. Like Tarava, this castle, built on Mount Aracadris, was situated in eastern Persis, and was the spot where Gaumata's insurrection broke out, for the reason probably that the murdered Smerdis had his residence here as governor. The rebel was here supported by the riotous population. Artavardiya pressed after him, defeated him toward the end of July at Mount Paraga, probably near the present Forg, and took him prisoner. He was crucified, with his companions, in Huvadaichaya. Arachosia was involved in this rebellion; but Vivana, the satrap of the country, after a stubborn struggle, brought it to subjection early in 519 B.C. In the same year an insurrection broke out anew in Babylon. An Armenian, Arakha, son of Haldita, proclaimed himself Nebuchadnezzar, son of Nabonidus, and headed a revolt in Dubala, now Deblch, not far from Hilleh. Contract-tablets bearing

his name have been found in Babylon. The Median general Vindafrana took the city in November, and, in accordance with the king's orders, had the rebel crucified.

Darius in 517 B.C. proceeded to Egypt, where his presence was equally necessary. Arcesilaus, King of Cyrene, had been put to death by men from Barca; and as he had sent tribute to Cambyses in former times, the satrap Aryandes felt under obligations to support the murdered king's mother, Pheretime, against Barca with Persian assistance. As soon as Pheretime had captured this city, and wreaked her vengeance, Aryandes withdrew his troops, and conceived the idea of freeing Egypt from Persia and of ruling independently. He was foolish enough to allow the coinage of money with a device indicating his purpose; his plan was accordingly discovered, and frustrated by his execution. Darius took advantage of the death of an Apis-bull to show his reverence for the religion of the Egyptians. He offered a reward for the discovery of a new Apis, and the sacred animal lived till the thirty-sixth year of his reign. Before this time he had already intrusted Hor-uza-su-ten-net with arrangements of public utility which brought Darius the honor of being reckoned among the six great lawgivers of Egypt. He erected in Hib, in the Oasis of Khargeh, a temple to the Theban Amun, the sculptures of which show his name and the name of Darius II., as well as that of Nekht-hor-heb; in the great central hall is engraven a pantheistic hymn to the same god. Darius, moreover, completed the canal begun by Necho, connecting the Red Sea with the Nile. This was an illustration of the zeal that he showed in promoting the growth of trade. By the completion of this work, India was brought into relationship with Egypt. At three points of the canal, where it runs north and south, mounds are found containing fragments of memorials set up by Darius, with inscriptions in Egyptian, Persian, Median, and Babylonian, and showing the king's image. The canal was dredged during the reign of Ptolemy II., Philadelphus; and it was still in operation at the time of the Emperor Trajan, as is proved by a coin which calls it *Trajanus amnis.*

The inscriptions inform us of still another revolt in Susiana, in the twelfth year of Darius. It was headed by Ummaima, in Huv-

zana (probably Ahwaz). He was defeated by Gobryas and crucified. Finally Darius states that he went forth against the Sacae, or the Scythians, who wore pointed tiaras, and dwelt by the sea, meaning the Caspian or Aral. They were defeated; and their king, Skunka, was captured and killed.

The events which have been mentioned, and several others, were graven by Darius in a cuneiform inscription on the mountain of Behistun, or Bisutun. As one journeys from the plain of the Tigris at Bagdad to Hamadan, the road leads up along the Diyala, or

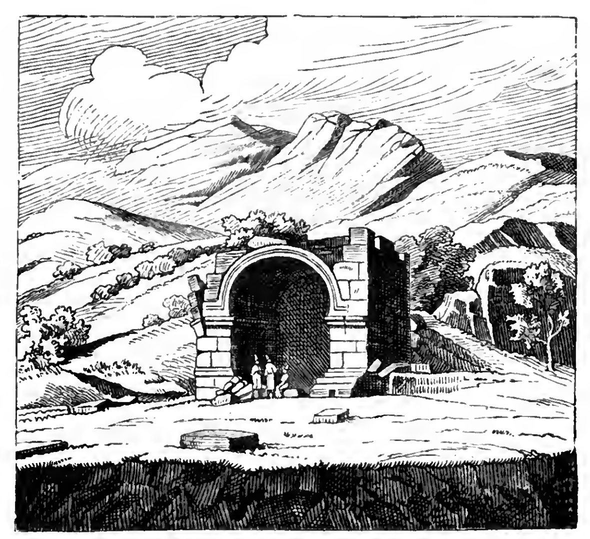


Fig. 33. — Tak-Girrah. (After Flandin.)

Gyndes, on both sides of which are scattered innumerable ruins. Somewhat inland from the eastern bank lies Eski-Bagdad, a great city of the Sassanids, once called Dastagerd. It was taken by the Emperor Heraclius in 627 A.D. Holwan, a very ancient city, once destroyed by the Assyrians, lies well up in the mountains. In the ravine of Sirpul-Zohab, which leads to Holwan, there is a rock smoothed to the height of fifty feet; high up there is to be seen an Achaemenian relief, representing a victor setting his foot on the neck of the vanquished; near by is a second prisoner and several more figures. Below, there is the representation of a horseman, probably a Parthian, with an inscription in Pehlevi. At some dis-

tance in another gorge, is situated a rock-tomb like those of Persepolis, seventy feet above the bottom of the valley. Here one finds himself in the midst of the Zagros mountains, which are crossed from Holwan by a pass distinguished by a Sassanian building, called the Tak-Girrah (Fig. 33). At Kirind, where an affluent of the Kerkha, or Choaspes, flows over the rocks with thundering echo, one mounts upon the plain of Mahidasht, in which lies Kermanshahan.

Eastward from here, and about sixty miles southwest of Hamadan (ancient Ecbatana), rises the Behistun, the Bagistanon Oros of

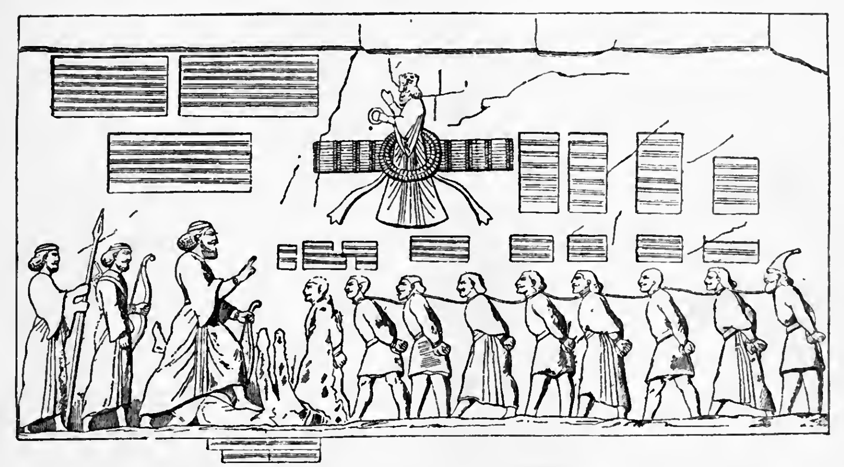


Fig. 34. — Relief at Behistun. (After Ker Porter.)

Diodorus, the side of which, falling 1700 feet perpendicular to the plain, was smoothed at a height of 300 feet, and sculptured with the most extensive Persian inscription that we possess. This includes a great relief (Fig. 34) representing Darius followed by Gobryas the Patischorian (Gaubaruva Patishuvarish), the lance-bearer, and Aspachana, the quiver-bearer; the king sets his foot on the prostrate Gaumata. Then follow the other nine rebels, fastened together with a rope around their necks, and with their hands pinioned behind their backs. Their names, according to the inscription over each, were Athrina, Nadintabaira, Fravartish, Martiya, Chithrantakhma, Vahyazdata, Arakha, Frada, and Skunka. Above the scene hovers the divinity, represented with the upper part of a man supported by

a ring, which is the Egyptian sun-disk already metamorphosed in Assyria. Under the ring appear the tail-feathers of an eagle or a hawk, and the ring is likewise provided with the wings of the same bird. Above the figures are found smaller inscriptions; under them is the great historical inscription, in Persian, Suso-Median, or Neo-Elamitic, and Babylonian, graven in four columns; a fifth column, with the account of the last Persian insurrection and the war of the Sacae, is composed in Persian only, and, like the figure of Skunka, was a later addition. The inscriptions are very carefully executed; faulty places are repaired by pieces accurately set in and cemented; the cuneiform letters are covered with a silicious glaze which has preserved them, even where the adjoining stone is worn away by the elements. What such a labor must have been, performed at a dizzy height, upon a swinging platform, may be realized when one considers that the five Persian columns (not reckoning the Babylonian and Median translations and the smaller inscriptions) alone contain about 420 lines, with 45 characters on an average in each; each character, moreover, contains from three to five wedges, so that the wedges of the Persian characters amount to 75,000. The difficult and dangerous task of copying these high inscriptions was first accomplished by Sir Henry Rawlinson, who also deciphered them. The rock was reëxamined in 1903 by Jackson, an American Orientalist.

The danger to which the authority of Darius and the duration of his kingdom had been exposed, showed him that all the different nations and tribes which Cyrus and Cambyses had united under one sceptre must be held together by one central power. Such an organization had already been attempted in Assyria, whose example had been followed in Babylonia. It was attempted by Darius, but with important modifications. The king was, to be sure, a despot with unlimited powers; yet in Persia, and probably also in Media, the nobles had never entirely resigned their right to co-operation in the government, a right which had been won by their having command of certain portions of the army when the land was first invaded and conquered. Thus, for example, before a declaration of war was decided upon, the chief satraps, the commanders of the army, the crown officials, and the military nobility were summoned to give their opinion. Gradually, however, this prerogative fell into

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(See page 177.)

Plate VIII.



DARIUS WITH HIS PARASOL BEARERS.

(After Texier.)

disuse because all voted according to the will of the king; for the custom was formed that each one had to answer with his life for the success of any undertaking intrusted to him. The king in his external appearance was like an Assyrian king, — the long staff in the right hand; in the left, a bunch of flowers; on the head the upright cylindrical *cidaris;* the body enveloped in the Median mantle, which reached to the feet, and, being belted and caught up at the sides, made that beautiful characteristic drapery which Persian art is now reproducing, after vain endeavors in times before. In the pictorial representations found in Persepolis and in Assyria (PLATE VIII.), there is always shown over the king's head the omnipresent divinity under whose shadow he lived and moved. His feet touch not the ground or the pavement of the palace court, but carpets and rugs are everywhere unrolled whenever he mounts his chariot or his horse. At court there were to be found, besides a council, — the members of which held the highest rank next to the king, and conducted the general affairs of state, — countless servants, who were vested with the palace offices, and carried out the royal commands; and a host of guards, cooks, and the like.

Darius made Susa his capital, as it seemed peculiarly adapted to be, by its geographical position in the midst of the principal countries, Persia, Babylonia, and Media, and because it had been the seat of Cyrus the Great. Persepolis and Pasargadae, however, remained the religious capitals, whence, through the favor of Ahura Mazda, had gone forth the power of the Achaemenians. There the coronations and the gorgeous state ceremonials took place, such as the reception of embassies and of bearers of tribute, when the king was seen in solemn state upon his throne, surrounded by his courtiers or taking part in magnificent banquets and amusements, as is shown in the sculptures of Persepolis. Ecbatana also saw the king frequently in summer-time in his palace, on the site of the ancient castle of Deioces; while Babylon, situated in the richest province, was the capital of trade, and the chief seat of the arts and sciences. The kingdom was divided into satrapies. The inscription of Behistun enumerates twenty-three countries, — Persia; Susiana; Babylonia; Assyria; Arabia; Egypt; the sea-coasts, meaning the islands and coast of Asia Minor; Sparda, meaning Lydia or the non-Grecian lands, west of the

Halys; Ionia, meaning the Greeks of Asia Minor, perhaps including the Carians, the Lycians, the Milyans, and the Pamphylians, who, according to Herodotus, paid tribute together; Media; Armenia; Cappadocia (Asia Minor, east of the Halys); Parthia; Drangiana; Aria (on the river of Herat); Chorasmia (Khiva); Bactria; Sogdiana; the land of the Gandara (in the Median translation, Paruparanisanu, Paropamisus); the land of the Sacae; that of the Sattagydae (in Kabulistan); Arachosia; and Maka (Mekran, the southern coast of Iran). In a second list, on an inscription in Persepolis, the expression, "sea-coast and Ionians," is replaced by the words, "Ionians of the mainland and the sea." The Sagartii are added; but, as they belong to the Parthians, they are not especially mentioned in the other inscription. Moreover, India is added, bringing the number of countries up to twenty-five. In the inscription over his tomb, Darius was enabled to have engraved besides: the Sacae with pointed hats (Tigrakhauda, the Massagetae); the Sacae beyond the sea (the Scoloti, on the sea of Azov); the Skudra (Thracians and Macedonians from the city Scydra); the Ionians with braided hair (the European Greeks; the Homeric *kārekomoōntes*); Punt; Kush; Matshiya (Lybia), and Karka (Carthage). Herodotus gives a list of twenty satrapies, with the amount of their tribute. Herodotus reckons the tribute to be 9880 Euboean, corresponding to 7600 Babylonian, talents; in gold 4680 talents, amounting in all to 14,560 silver talents, or $15,000,000. Added to this were the offerings in kind: the Cilicians, for example, supplied 360 white horses; the products of the fisheries in Fayum were likewise carried to Persia, and the Persian garrison in Memphis received its supplies in grain from the province; Babylonia supplied 500 boys as servants; the Ethiopians, subjected by Cambyses, paid tribute of gold, ebony, and five boys every third year only; the Colchians furnished every five years 100 boys and 100 maidens as slaves; the Arabians yearly 100 quintals of frankincense. The satraps, who kept a princely court, and in some countries the native princes, had to apportion and collect the tribute. Persia itself was free from paying tribute; yet when the king honored the land with his presence, gifts were expected. The regulation of the amount of the taxes according to the ability of the satrapy was the work of Darius.

No longer could a land be driven to rebellion by the unreasonable exaction of tribute, and the expenses of the kingdom and court could be kept in exact ratio to the income which was expected. To be sure, it was far from being an ideal system. Satraps who had no salary defrayed the expenses of their courts likewise from the tributes of the provinces; and in order to prevent imposition, officials had to be appointed for each province to keep an eye on the activity of the satrap. The military authority also lay originally in the hand of a special officer; but afterwards was resigned for the most part into the control of the satrap, as was really necessary, when, on account of danger of war, it was considered advisable to concentrate all power. The money that flowed in was molten in the royal treasury, and put into circulation again newly coined, according as it was needed. We have already seen (page 112) that the currency, in consequence of the various standards in use, especially in Asia Minor, was in the greatest confusion. In order to remedy this evil, Darius fixed the value of gold pieces to be thirteen and a half times that of silver of equal weight. The heavy talent weighed 121½ pounds (60,600 kilgs.), and the light talent 60¾ pounds (30,300 kilgs.). The sixtieth part of the talent was called a mina; the sixtieth part of a mina was the shekel, or *siglus*. Even before the time of Darius, fifty shekels only, instead of sixty, went to make the mina; so that the talent, being one-sixth lighter, contained only 3000, instead of 3600 shekels, and weighed only 50½ pounds. This, which had become the Euboean talent of the Greeks, Darius used as the standard for his coinage. The golden darics, one thousand of which made a golden talent, were worth about $5, and were only slightly alloyed. Ten silver pieces made a daric, thus each was worth about fifty cents; the so-called Median shekel was worth half as much, or about twenty-five cents. Thus the gold talent was worth about $21,000, the silver $1400. In consequence of the gold standard that obtained in Persia, and the silver standard preferred by the Greeks, the proportional value of gold was constantly diminishing. Attempts at readjustment led to many systems of coinage and to constant uncertainty. Philip of Macedon subsequently introduced a double standard, fixing the ratio of gold to silver at 1 : 12.45. If the value of gold sank still lower, silver would necessarily flow away

from Macedonia, as it had from Persia before. Accordingly Alexander gave up the double standard, and restored the silver standard, according to the Attic ratio. He thus declared war against Persian gold, since the ratio between gold and silver was established at 1:12.30, and gold was created a mere commodity. After the pillage of the Persian treasures, and the liberation of the gold there hoarded, gold was allowed to follow its downward path of depreciation, without in any way affecting the premium set upon silver in the Grecian world. The stamp upon the gold and silver coins shows the king with lance and bow; on the reverse is seen the prow of a ship or some other device. Other dies were made for the land of Syria: the king riding in his chariot over a lion; on the reverse a city or a trireme. In each province the satrap was authorized to mint his own coins, with some distinctive device; but the tribute paid in these coins was melted up, and reissued in the royal coinage. The operation of striking coins was similar to that used at the present day in many parts of Persia. Floyer, who visited the mint at Kerman, describes the process. The silver, by means of a clumsy wooden machine, is drawn out into a thick wire, which a man with great skill and rapidity cuts off into shorter pieces. These pieces are thrown into a furnace near the anvil. The anvil, which contains the die making the obverse of the coin, is a block of solid steel. A man takes out a piece of silver from the pan with a pair of pincers, and lays it on the anvil; with never-failing skill, a second applies a small hammer containing the reverse of the coin, and the third strikes the whole with a heavy sledge. Thus more than thirty pieces a minute are struck (Figs. 35, 36).

Darius, through his system of coinage, not only gave freer motion to trade, but also provided for the opening of new routes for commerce, and for the improvement of the great highways. Even at the present time, when Persia lies in ruins, the ancient caravansaries are a convenience of which the country has a right to be proud. The fleet of Scylax of Caryanda, by command of Darius, began the exploration of the seacoasts, and sailed from the mouth of the Indus around the Arabian peninsula, and came to land in the Gulf of Suez, at the mouth of the Nile canal. Great royal highways were constructed, extending to almost all parts of the empire, from

the western coast of Asia Minor to the deserts east of the Caspian Sea. They can be traced in detail from ruins and from the descriptions of ancient writers, who frequently give the distances between important points lying upon them.

Darius in the later years of his reign made the conquest of northwestern India. A portion of the Panjab, the Pactyes, in the valley of the Indus, the ancestors of the Afghans, even the Dardae in the Himalaya mountains, were brought into subjection. Then the king turned his attention to the opposite extremity of his empire, and sending a fleet along the coasts of the Black Sea, prepared an expedition against the European Scythians. Mandrocles of Samos threw a bridge across the Bosporus, and an army set foot upon the soil of southern Russia. The object of this campaign, which



Figs. 35 and 36. — **Persian coins.** (After Mionnet.)

was described by Herodotus, was to restrain the Scythians from hostile demostrations against the Persians in case of an expedition against Greece. It was attained. Meantime Megabazus had reduced Thrace, and compelled Macedonia to pay tribute. A personal quarrel between Aristagoras, tyrant of Miletus, and Megabates, a commander of the Persian fleet, occasioned the Ionian revolt (501 B.C.). The Greeks burned Sardis; the Carians and the populations along the Hellespont and on the island of Cyprus proclaimed their independence of Persian authority, and only the lack of unity among the Greeks prevented them from regaining their freedom. The Athenians took the part of the insurgents; and the tyrant Hippias, who had been expelled from Athens, and had fled to Darius, strengthened the king in his purpose of incorporating European Greece into his kingdom. A magnificent work of Greek art, the vase of Canosa, now in Naples, represents Darius taking counsel

with his nobles in regard to the expedition; it gives a very accurate idea of the dress and appearance of the Persians of that period.

An army under Mardonius proceeded to Thrace, but was repulsed by the fierce Brygi on the borders of Macedonia; and the Persian fleet was wrecked off Mount Athos (492 B.C.). Moreover, an army under Datis and Artaphernes, which had landed in Attica, was defeated in the battle of Marathon on the twelfth of September, 490 B.C. A still greater expedition against the Hellenes was in preparation when a disturbance broke out in Egypt. Darius did not live to see it pacified. He died in 486 B.C., in the sixty-third year of his active life, with the glory of having firmly established the Persian Empire by means of an organization which is substantially preserved to the present day in the countries of the East.

Darius frequently in his inscriptions mentions Ahura Mazda as the supreme god of the Persians, and ascribes to him all the successes of his life, especially the bestowal of sovereignty upon his house, the victory over his enemies, and the punishment of evil-doers. He lays the greatest stress on his abhorrence of falsehood (*Druj*, the German *Trug*), which calls forth rebellions, and is the source of all evil. As Ahura Mazda is a being peculiar to the religion of Zoroaster, and not in any way, like Zeus, a divinity common to the Indo-European nations, it is a sufficient proof that Darius was an adherent of the Zoroastrian doctrine. As regards Cyrus and Cambyses, we have no direct proof in this respect; but as the behavior of both kings toward the gods and religions of the non-Aryan peoples was precisely the same as that of Darius,— namely, the utmost toleration toward those who held a different faith, even to the extent of paying homage to strange gods, — we are safe in assuming that all these Iranian monarchs were animated by the spirit of a religion superior to those of other ancient peoples. The latter almost always connected with the results of their military successes the idea of a victory of their own God over the gods of the vanquished, and they overthrew or carried off their images. This ancient Persian religion further differentiates itself in this regard from the later Zoroastrian belief, which at the time of the Sassanids was characterized by great intolerance. So far as we can separate this ancient religion from later accretions, it seems worthy of the greatest respect. The ancient Persians, like the an-

cient Germans, considered the gods too great and holy to be limited to temples; they worshipped not oxen and hippopotamuses, but, like the Buddhists, were merciful to beasts; they offered human sacrifices to no Huitzilopochtli as in Mexico. Indeed, there is no religious community in the world whose entire code of moral law meets with such a harmonious response in the practical life as is shown by the Parsis of India, the last disciples of the Zoroastrian faith. In the case of all highly endowed nations, a time comes when their divinities, who till then were powers of nature, are transformed into beings endowed with spiritual characteristics. The consciousness newly awakened in man personifies the good and evil tendencies of the mind, and brings into existence outside of the *ego* good and bad spirtis. The conflict between two contraries going on within the heart is represented as a battle between two divinities outside of humanity. At such a period in the development of the religious consciousness of the Persians, arose Zarathushtra, or Zoroaster, a nature deeply moved by the religious spirit. He became the prophet of what was to be a new faith, or, to use the theological phrase, he brought a revelation of heaven. After this change from nature-worship to a supernatural religion appeared sacred books containing apothegms by the founder of the new doctrine, directions for the behavior of men in difficult circumstances, instructions concerning the offerings by which men may express their gratitude for the gifts of God, or hope to appease his wrath for sins committed, and directions for the treatment of the dead, together with sanitary and other useful measures. There is still a considerable element of the primitive nature-worship retained, and it constantly reveals to us the kinship between the primitive or heathen religion and those of cognate nations. In the Behistun inscripton Darius is thought to have mentioned the Avesta as a book, since he declares (if the reading be correct) that he has reigned according to the *Abashtam*.[1] The Babylonian translation here has *dinat*, which is used elsewhere to express the Persian *data* 'law.' Cyrus, as we have seen, was the first to introduce the art of writing into Persia, and it is impossible to refer any book back to a period of greater antiquity than that of the Achaemenians. It is probable that the written draft of the words of the founder of the religion was

[1] But more probably *Ārshtām*, 'Rectitude,' is the true reading.—Ed.

made for the first time when Darius thwarted the attempt of the Magian Gaumata to introduce Median habits and the Median religion among the Persians. From what we know about the ancient Persian religion, this Abashta (presuming the reading to be correct), which contained the theogony recited by the priests during sacrifice, as we are informed by Herodotus, and which is mentioned by other writers of antiquity, was not the same Avesta that we have to-day. In the inscriptions, together with Ahura Mazda the supreme, there appear still other gods, or *baga* (Slavonic *bog*), a term which occurs only in very late passages of the Avesta. Tribal or clan gods are also mentioned; but in our Avesta, even in the oldest passages, no trace is found of these almost heathenish beings, but only genii of an abstract nature. The name of Devas, or Divs, is not found in the Behistun inscriptions, although Drauga, 'lie, deceit, Falsehood,' is almost personified like the Avestan Druj; and the Persepolis inscriptions name famine, invasion, and treachery as incarnations of evil. Dualistic traits, however, are not easy to find on the monuments. In early times the division of the year stood in close connection with religion; our Avesta calls the months by the names of genii. If this nomenclature had been in use at the time of Darius, the secular names found on the inscriptions would not have been applied to them. They are as follows: first, Bagayadi ('garden offering'), corresponding to Nisan, or to the first month at the beginning of the vernal equinox; second, Thuravahara ('spring month'), in the Babylonian translation Iyar; third, Thaigrachi (perhaps meaning the month for 'garlic-gathering'), in the translation Sivan; the fourth month, corresponding to Tammuz, is lacking; the month that corresponds to the fifth Babylonian month, Ab, is called Garmapada ('heat season'); the sixth is lacking; the seventh is Adukanis; the eighth is lacking; the ninth is Athriyadiya ('fire offering'), in the Babylonian translation Kislev; the tenth is Anamaka (the 'nameless,' probably because it had no special designation, but was merely called 'the tenth'); the eleventh was Margazana (perhaps meaning 'the incubation of birds'); and the twelfth Viyakhna ('the melting of the ice'), in the Babylonian translation Adar. The Greeks constantly relate of the Persians facts that so absolutely contradict the spirit of the Avesta, that the accuracy of their state-

ments have been put in question; but there is no sufficient reason for so doing. The Achaemenians were worshippers of Ahura Mazda, but they did not use their secular power for the advancement of any church, as was the case with the Sassanians. The Abasta of Darius had greater similarity to the Veda of the Indians than to the Tripitaka of the Buddhists.

The monuments of Persepolis show that the homage of fire as divine was also an element of the ancient Persian religion. The façades of the royal tombs made a cruciform cavity in the rocks; the broad, middle arm of the cross is fashioned into the likeness of the colonnade, or entrance-hall, of the palace; the uppermost, narrow arm of the cross is a representation in relief of the wooden upper story, which was built upon the roof of the stone palace. Here stands the deceased king, worshipping before the altar with its flaming fire; over the scene hovers Ahura Mazda. When expeditions were made, the sacred fire accompanied the army. The worship of fire was handed down from ancient times in Media, Armenia, and Assyria. Sippara (Agade), in Babylonia, was the city of eternal fire; even on Assyrian monuments are found fire-utensils exactly similar to those on the reliefs of Persepolis; yet fire-worship among the Semites remained of subordinate importance. The numerous naphtha springs in the region of the Tigris near Kerkuk, on the Euphrates near Hit, in Armenia (at Skhemakha), in Daghestan (at Baku), with their frequent accompaniments of flames, early came to be regarded as a manifestation of deity, as the 'Son of Ahura Mazda.' In Pasargadae, as well as in Persepolis, we shall find a fire-tower, or *atashgah.* Artaxerxes II. introduced the worship of Mithras and Anahita, both of whom were forms originating in the ancient Aryan mythology. Mithras was a god of the light, whose special function was to unmask the lies that creep in the darkness, as perjury and the breaking of agreements; in time men began to reverence him more than others; instead of a mere god of light he became the Sun-god and the ruler of the universe. It was not under Ahura Mazda, but under Mithras, that the Persian religion made the conquest of the Western lands. There this god, clothed with attributes from Babylonian and Egyptian doctrine, was celebrated as *Sol invictus* in the Mithras mysteries, which were the

last refuge of the faith of the ancient world. Anahita is the Ardvisura of the Zoroastrian belief, the goddess of a sacred fount in whose depths she inhabits a great subterranean palace. Here she distributes the waters in the veins of the earth, which without her would quickly become a wilderness; and it is therefore a pious work to assist in her beneficent service by the establishment of channels for irrigation. As her cult became widespread throughout Persia, her attributes were somewhat confused with those of the Semitic Anahid, the goddess of fecundity and procreation; and temples were built in her honor, with magnificent ritual and with statues, as is described in a Yasht, or prayer of sacrifice, in the later Avesta. The Avesta, in the form to which it was brought probably in the last

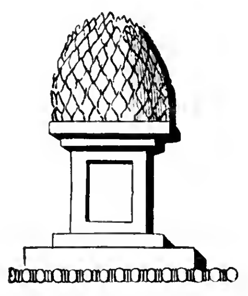


Fig. 37. — Altar of fire.



Fig. 38. — Utensil for making fire.

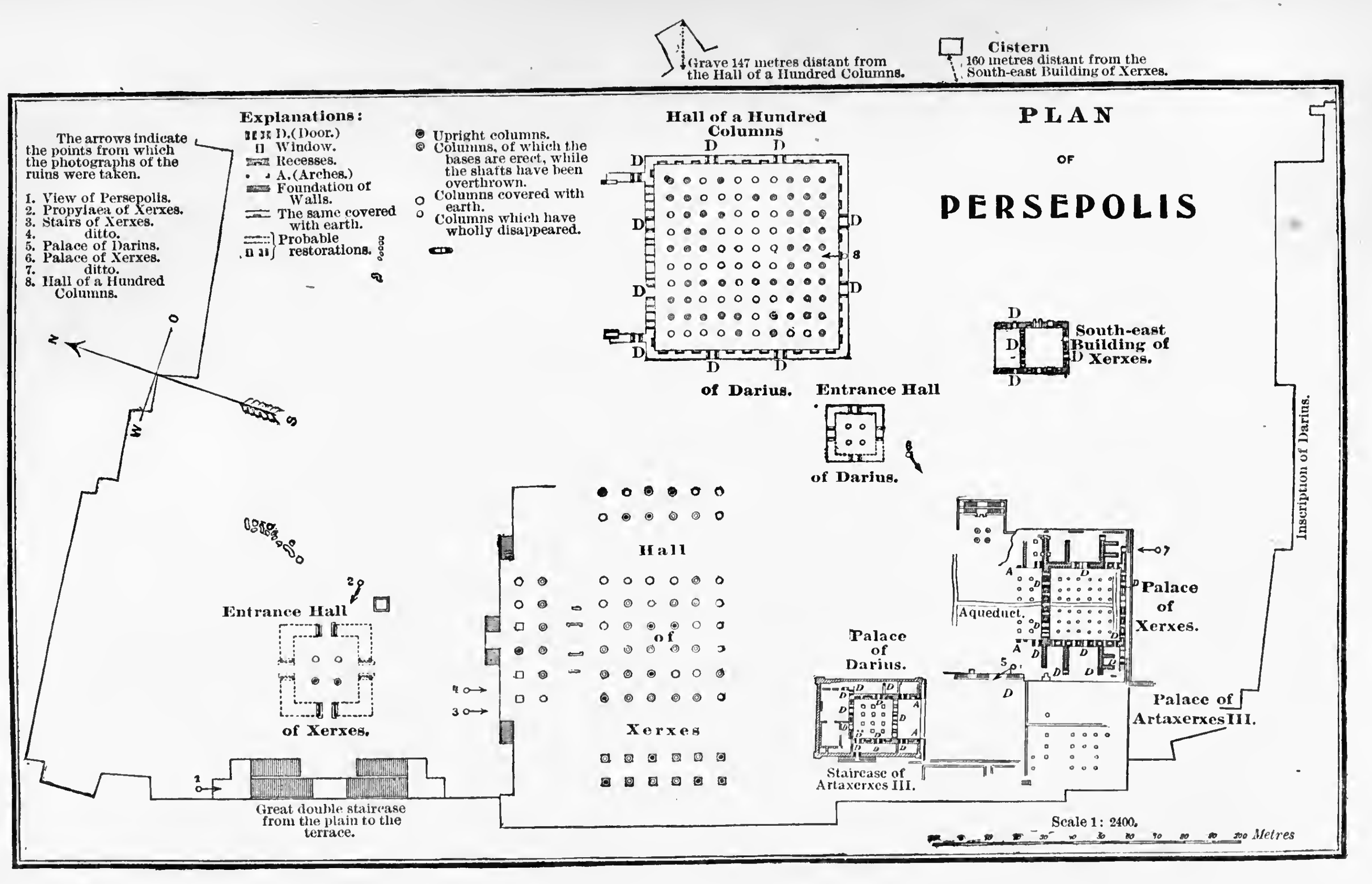


Fig. 39. — Portable fire-altar. (After Texier and Ker Porter.)

days of the Parthians and the early Sassanians, contains many relics of a more ancient period, as can be easily recognized by the fact that they presuppose a very simple condition of affairs and a society entirely foreign to that of the Persians, who were then living in the midst of a more refined enjoyment of life. They refer to a time when interests were centred rather on cows and dogs than on objects of art and luxury.[1]

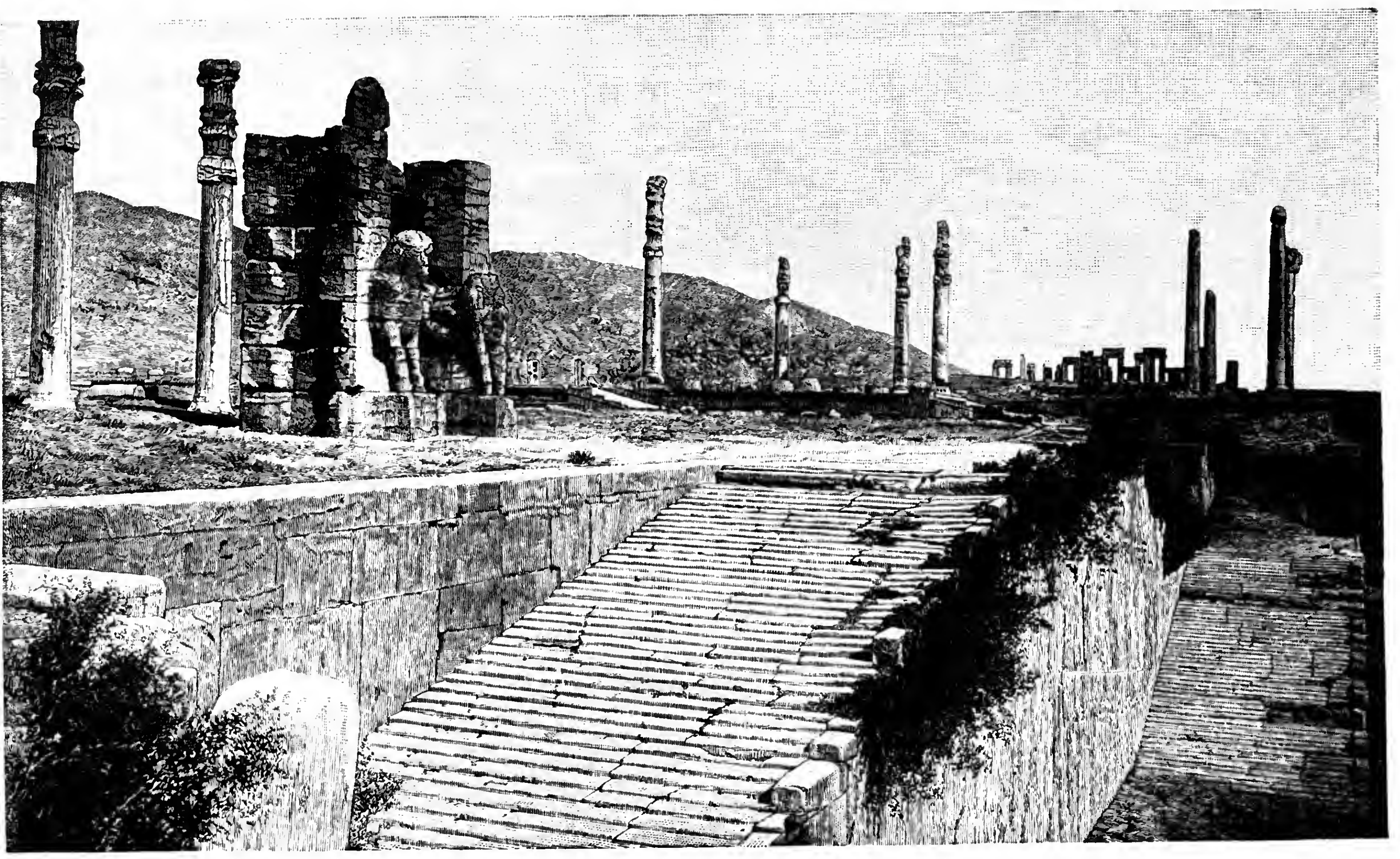
Darius laid the foundations for the palatial edifices at Persepolis, not far from Pasargadae, and connected with it by a road that strikes directly over the intervening hills. A mountain of gray marble, stretching from the east almost to the Pulvar, makes a rectangular projection into the plain of Mervdasht; and this was used by Darius for the site of his royal palaces. As the projection, which

[1] Figs. 37–39 are illustrations of various Persian objects used in fire-worship.


PLAN
OF
PERSEPOLIS
Grave 147 metres distant from the Hall of a Hundred Columns.
Cistern
160 metres distant from the South-east Building of Xerxes.
The arrows indicate the points from which the photographs of the ruins were taken.
1. View of Persepolis.
2. Propylaea of Xerxes.
3. Stairs of Xerxes.
4. ditto.
5. Palace of Darius.
6. Palace of Xerxes.
7. ditto.
8. Hall of a Hundred Columns.
Explanations:
D. (Door.)
Window.
Recesses.
A. (Arches.)
Foundation of Walls.
The same covered with earth.
Probable restorations.
Upright columns.
Columns, of which the bases are erect, while the shafts have been overthrown.
Columns covered with earth.
Columns which have wholly disappeared.
Hall of a Hundred Columns
of Darius.
Entrance Hall of Darius.
South-east Building of Xerxes.
Hall of Xerxes
Entrance Hall of Xerxes.
Palace of Darius.
Staircase of Artaxerxes III.
Aqueduct.
Palace of Xerxes.
Palace of Artaxerxes III.
Inscription of Darius.
Great double staircase from the plain to the terrace.
Scale 1: 2400.
Metres
N
S
W
O

was not of the same height over its entire surface, was reduced to different levels for the various buildings, they do not all stand at the same elevation; at the same time, the almost perpendicular escarpments were clad with a mighty wall which follows all the irregularities of the rocky surface. The stones, the largest of which are from fifty to fifty-six feet in length and from six feet and a half to nearly ten feet in thickness, are not laid in regular layers or courses, but belong to the style of construction called pseudisodom. They have a multitude of re-entering angles, so that the parts fit into each other like carpentry work; a sort of Cyclopean masonry like that found in Asia Minor. The accuracy with which the seams are joined is astonishing. In the blocks exposed to sight on top can be seen the cavities for the swallow-tailing, which were formerly filled with metal. The easterly side of the terrace has an extension of 1600 feet, resting on the mountain Rakhmet, from the sides of which one can look over the Takht-i-Jemshid, or 'throne of Yima,' into a magnificent plain bounded by mountain chains and rocky peaks. On the southern side, Darius had inserted in the wall a colossal block containing a record of the work. It was engraved with a twofold Persian inscription, and one in Susanian and Babylonian. At variance with the usual custom, the two last inscriptions are only in part versions of the Persian. As an example of such inscriptions it may interest the reader if we cite the translation. The first Persian inscription runs as follows: "The great Ahura Mazda, who is the greatest of the Gods, established Darayavaush as King; he has bestowed on him the kingdom; by the grace of Ahura Mazda is Darayavaush become King. Says Darayavaush the King: This land, Parsa, which Ahura Mazda has granted to me, which is illustrious, abounding in good horses and in men, has no fear of any enemy by the grace of Ahura Mazda, and of me, the king Darayavaush. Saith Darayavaush the King: May Ahura Mazda and the gods of my house be my stay, and may Ahura Mazda protect this land from hostile armies, famine, and falsehood. May no enemy come into this land, no hostile armies, no famine, and may no falsehood prevail. This grace do I ask of Ahura Mazda and the clan gods; may Ahura Mazda and the clan gods grant me this prayer." The second Persian inscription begins: "I am Dayara-

PLATE IX.



Ruins of Persepolis (from the east). (After Stolze-Andreas.)

History of All Nations, Vol. II., page 189.

vaush the Great King, the King of Kings, the King of these many lands, the son of Vishtaspa, the Achaemenian." Then the countries are enumerated, as we have already seen, and the inscription ends: "Says Darayavaush the King: If thou (Ahura Mazda) sayest: 'be it so,' then shall I tremble in presence of no enemy. Protect this nation of Parsa; for if the nation of Parsa have thy protection, then will Fortune, who has (ever) brought the hater to naught, descend as mistress into this house." The Susan inscription translates the introduction of the second Persian inscription, and continues: "Dariyavaush the King says: 'Upon this spot is this castle established; hitherto no castle was here established. By the grace of Ormasda have I established this castle, and Ormasda and the other gods prompted in me the desire that this castle should be established; and I have established it enduringly in all the beauty and perfection that was my pleasure.' Dariyavaush the King saith: 'May Ormasda and all the gods protect me and this castle, and that which is within this castle. May I never see the wish of an evil man fulfilled.'" The Babylonian inscription contains a paraphrase of the two Persian ones.

The western side of the terrace is 1540 feet in length; near the northwest corner it is reached by a double staircase (PLATE IX.) built into the wall itself. It has a slope of 266 feet, and is of very beautiful proportions. Each flight of steps is twenty-two feet in width, and so gentle is the ascent that ten horsemen can ride up abreast. The two lower flights have each fifty-eight steps, the two upper ones forty-eight. The staircase is made of such enormous stones that oftentimes several steps, together with the parapet, are fashioned from one block. In fact, all the stones of these ruins are of immense size, and even at the present time their polished surfaces are as bright as a mirror. After climbing the staircase, the landing-place of which measures thirty-seven feet by twenty-four, the lowest level of the terrace is reached. Here stands a white marble portico begun by Xerxes, but never finished; only the eastern and western gateways and the two western pillars were placed in position (Fig. 41). The door-posts are decorated in Assyrian style, the ones on the west having two bulls, those on the east two winged bulls with human heads. These sphinxes

closely resemble those in Khorsabad; at Persepolis, however, the wings are extended, as if in motion. On the inner walls of the gateway, high above the four animals, are placed inscriptions of Xerxes, graven in the three chief tongues of the kingdom. The two columns rest on bell-formed socles decorated with pendent palm-leaves. The shaft, built around an iron spindle, contains thirty-nine Doric flutings, and is crowned with a singular capital. It begins with a bell-shaped part (like that on the pillar of Thothmes III. in

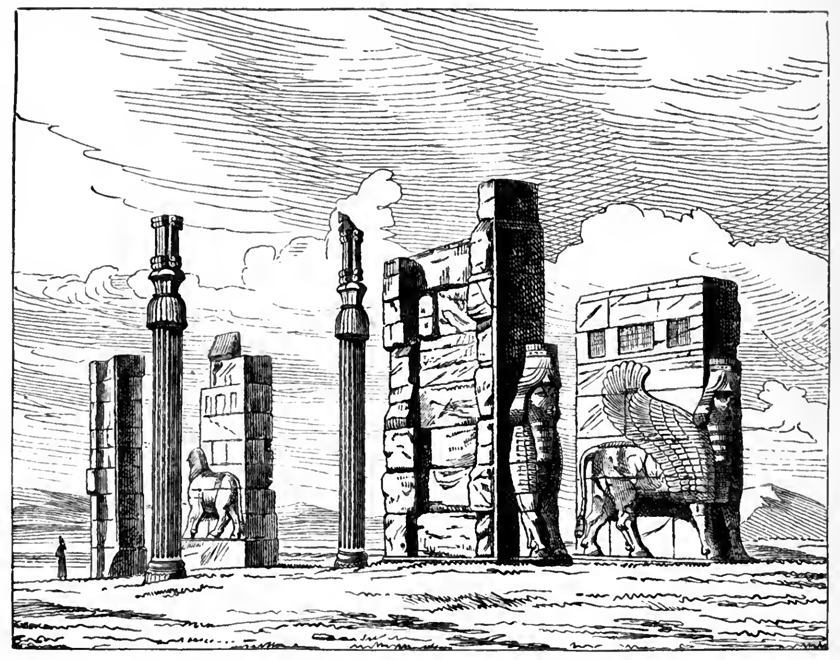


Fig. 41. — Portico of Xerxes. (After Flandin and Coste.)

Karnak); and above this is a second capital, set round with pendent palm-leaves, as in the temple of Soleb. The edges and ribs of the leaves are beaded. On top of all rests a fourfold double volute. It does not lie in a horizontal position, as in Ionic columns, but stands upright, and shows not one but two spirals on each side. The column is the one element that gives the architecture of the Achaemenians a very different stamp from that of the Assyrians. Nothing has come down to us of Median architecture, and it is therefore impossible to decide whether the column originated among

the Medes. It is probable that the Median palaces were built on the model of the Assyrian, and that the column came to Persia through the Greeks. Only Greeks can have made the flutings; and the other portions also of the column betray Greek workmanship, although the motive is Asiatic. The perpendicular volute originates in Assyrian bronze-work, and is found on the perpendicular parts of furniture; but it is horizontal if the bars are horizontal; especially in Asia Minor (as at Xanthus, Branchidae near Miletus, and in Lydia), it is employed for decorative purposes. It is significant that Hamza of Ispahan, who wrote in 961 A.D., mentions the mythical queen Humai as employing Greek artists in the building of her capital Istakhr, or Persepolis. Still more definite is the information that Cambyses brought Greek artists with him to Persia, that the Phocian sculptor Telephanes worked under Darius and Xerxes, and that Xerxes carried off Grecian masterpieces, such as Antenor's bronze statues of Harmodius and Aristogiton of Athens. Diodorus tells of Egyptian artists being employed in Persepolis, and this is confirmed by the Egyptian cornices there found, which do not occur in Pasargadae.

In a southerly direction from the propylaeum, there stand upon a platform at a higher elevation about a dozen columns, originally part of a great square hall composed of marble columns sixty-seven feet high; there were six rows of six columns each. This banqueting hall likewise was never completed; many sculptured blocks of stone designed for it, among others a great capital in the form of two half-bulls, together with volutes and drums, remain where they were on the northeastern portions of the terrace. Others of the columns have been thrown down; so that of the original number, seventy-two, only about a fifth are standing. The socles of the central columns and of those in the northern portico are composed of two square plinths, joined by an Attic torus to the shaft, which is sixteen feet in circumference, and has fifty-two flutings, and, like the columns of the propylaeum, is crowned with the composite capital. From the fragments it is evident that the capital supported two half-bulls, between which rested the roof-beams. This Asiatic motive of the bulls is found in Delos, where a column with a fore part of a bull on the outside corresponds to the Doric semi-column of the in-

terior, and moreover, the metopes are provided with a bull's head. The same motive is met with again in the cave of Karli in India. In the eastern portico, monsters take the place of bulls as the supports of the roof-beams. From remains of the walls, it is evident that the central hall opened by means of two doors into the northern portico. Elsewhere there is no trace of walls.

The terrace of this hall is reached near the northerly portico by a staircase about 250 feet in width, with a flight on both the eastern and western projection of the portico, and then still another flight leading on both sides to a projecting platform. This magnificent twofold stairway is completely covered with figures and inscriptions. At

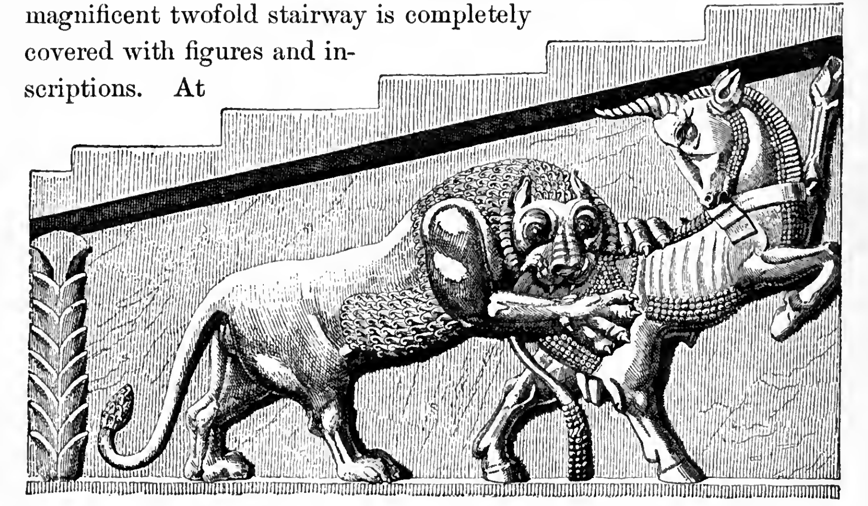


Fig. 42. — Lion slaying a bull. Relief on the staircase of the Hall of Xerxes in Persepolis. (After Rawlinson.)

the present day the salient portion at the centre is partially destroyed; the central space displays eight palace guardsmen, and in each of the two spandrels formed by the rise in the staircases is sculptured in strong relief the lion slaying the bull, a group found regularly repeated in all the stairways of the terrace (Fig. 42). Here the lion astronomically symbolizes the sun in his highest ascension, gaining the victory over the bull of the equinox; at the same time the lion is the symbol of the sun in his greatest power; it is the sacred beast of the sun-god, Mithras.[1] The scene is re-

[1] The same symbol is characteristic of the sun-god Hor-hut (who is represented with the body of the lion and the face of a man), and of Vishnu-Narasinha, the conqueror of Hiranyakashipu. It is the fire overpowering the bull, as the representative of that which is terrestrial, of the fruitful moisture.

peated in numberless sculptures on buildings, on gems, coins, and vases, among all the nations of anterior Asia, even among the Greeks. Over each step on the inner faces of the stairway, stand palace guardsmen (Fig. 43), forming a lane through which the ambassadors of foreign nations would pass into the presence of the king. The entire wall on both sides of this central staircase is divided by broad panels, decorated with rosettes, into three parallel bands; on the left about 150 figures illustrate the Persian people, in Persian and Median dress, and soldiers armed with lances; in the uppermost band, which, together with the parapet, is for the most part thrown down, seems to be the royal stud and the chariots of war; on the right side is a very remarkable procession of the nations belonging to the empire, each represented by six or eight figures; accompanied by Persian officials, they bring as gifts to the king, at the Nauruz, or festival of New Year's, the products of their lands (Fig. 44). Each nation is separated from the next by cypress-trees. In the whole, there are about 120 figures of men and seventeen animals. Unfortunately the names of these peoples are not designated by any inscription. The topmost horizontal band was continued beyond the parapet, which, judging by a fragment yet remaining on the staircase of the palace of Darius, was probably crowned by battlements. It has been thrown down with the rest, so that only chariot-wheels and the legs of men and animals can be seen: those of a lion, a camel, and an ape are recognizable. At the two extreme ends, where the second flight of stairs is situated, appears again the group of the lion and the bull; between it and the procession on each side is a blank slab for a tablet; only the one toward the west is provided with an inscription of Xerxes. In the spaces not filled with figures are chiselled cypresses and palm-trees.



Fig. 43. — Palace guard. Relief on staircase of Xerxes. (After Ker Porter.)

These reliefs show an advance in art compared to the Assyrian.

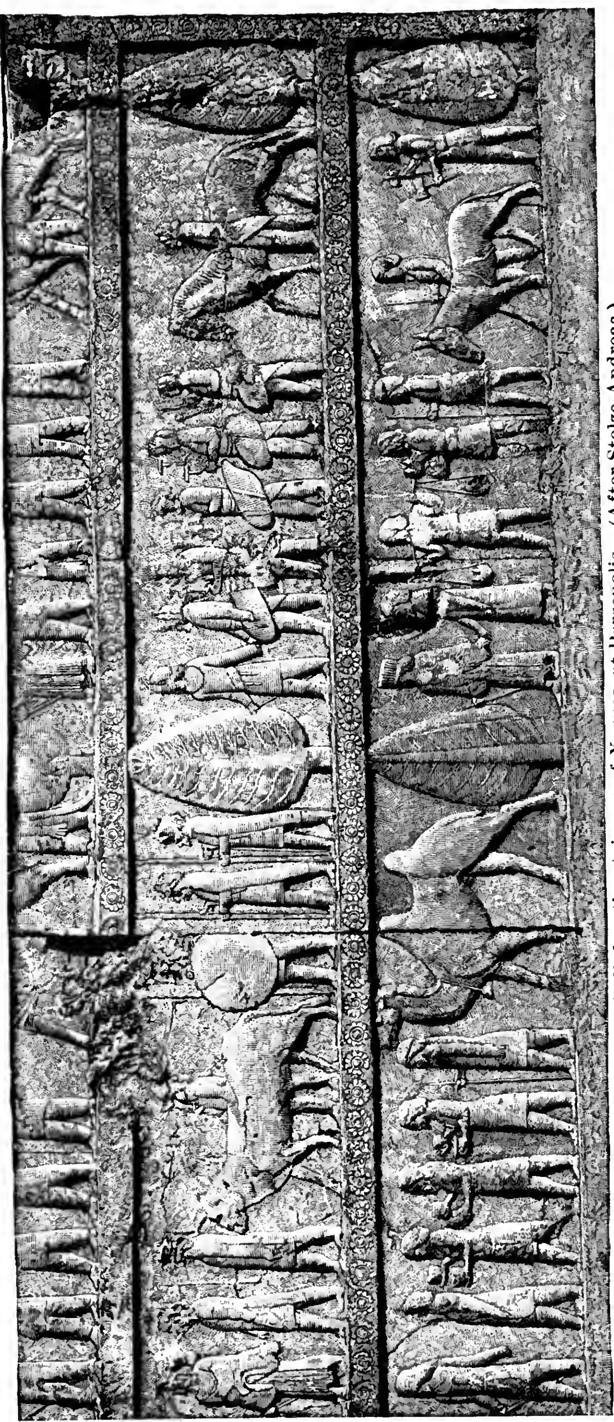


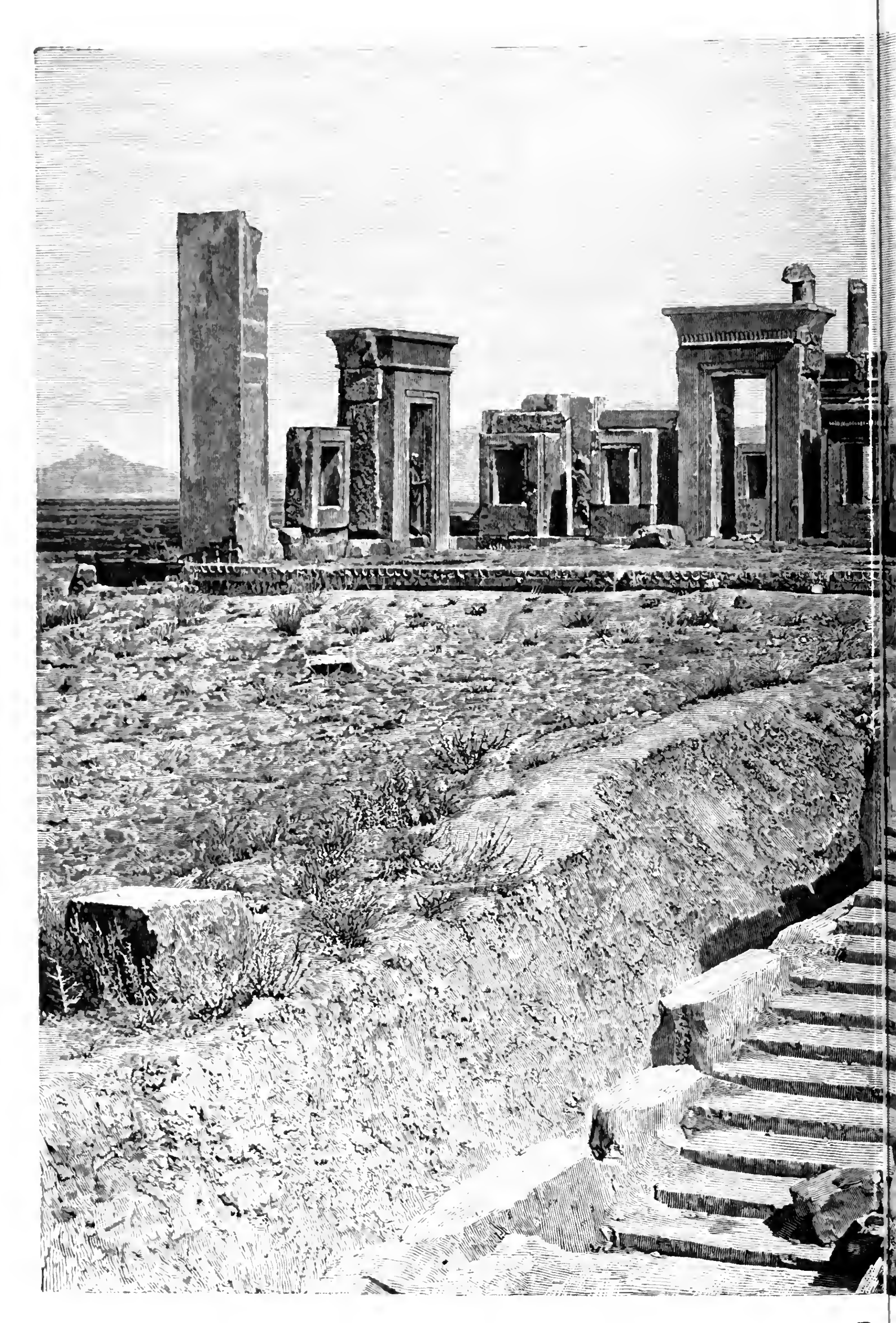
Fig. 44. — Relief on the staircase of Xerxes, at Persepolis. (After Stolze-Andreas.)

Thus the earlier mode of presenting a front view of the upper part of the body, while the head, arms, and legs are turned to one side, is replaced by a correct idea of drawing the figure in profile. The motions are unconstrained; the management of the drapery, especially in the Median raiment, is definite and artistic; all the peculiarities of dress and weapons are carefully elaborated. The heads form about the sixth part of the body, as in the figures on the Harpy Tomb and those of the temple of Aegina. This gives the men the appearance of stubbiness not corresponding to the truth, since the Greek writers repeatedly comment upon the stature and slenderness of the Persian men and women. Here also the Grecian sculptors were evidently employed; the whole terrace produces the impression of Hellenic workmanship, although the subjects are Persian. The Persians are represented as wearing caps with bands (*cyrbasia*), like those of the Phrygians; they have short coats, with a girdle and leather trowsers. A baldric holds a short sword, the sheath of which is fastened to the right leg by means of a strap connected with the ferrule. A long mantle with sleeves is thrown over the shoulder. The Medes wear on their heads a cap, broadening somewhat toward the top, and decorated with upright strips, which may have been originally a crown of feathers. The long garment is gathered at the sides, so that it makes perpendicular folds, from which radiate transverse folds crossing the body before and behind. The sleeves are a compromise between sleeve and collar. Among the foreign nations the Ionians from Asia Minor can be recognized, bringing as their gift a great round shield, apparently of gold, spears, and likewise a Carian ox; the Muzri, also, from north of Khorsabad, are seen coming with their high tiaras and characteristic coiffure, and bringing a war-chariot, vases, and great bracelets. In one group, probably Carians or Lydians are to be recognized by their mantles thrown back over their shoulders; they bring a pair of balances, with two small vases, an ass, and two double axes. One nationality with remarkable caps, possibly Cicilians, lead a great horse, and offer pieces of cloth as gifts; while others, in a dress somewhat like the Persian, bring also a smaller horse, and carry hammers and metal utensils. Possibly they are people from Khorasan or Parthia, where mining was carried on. Parthians, as well as

Ionians, appear again sculptured on the stairway of the palace of Xerxes. Another group, bringing a bison and holding utensils and cloths, are probably meant to represent Indians. Different national types from these here represented are found on the dais of the king's throne, to which we shall shortly come.

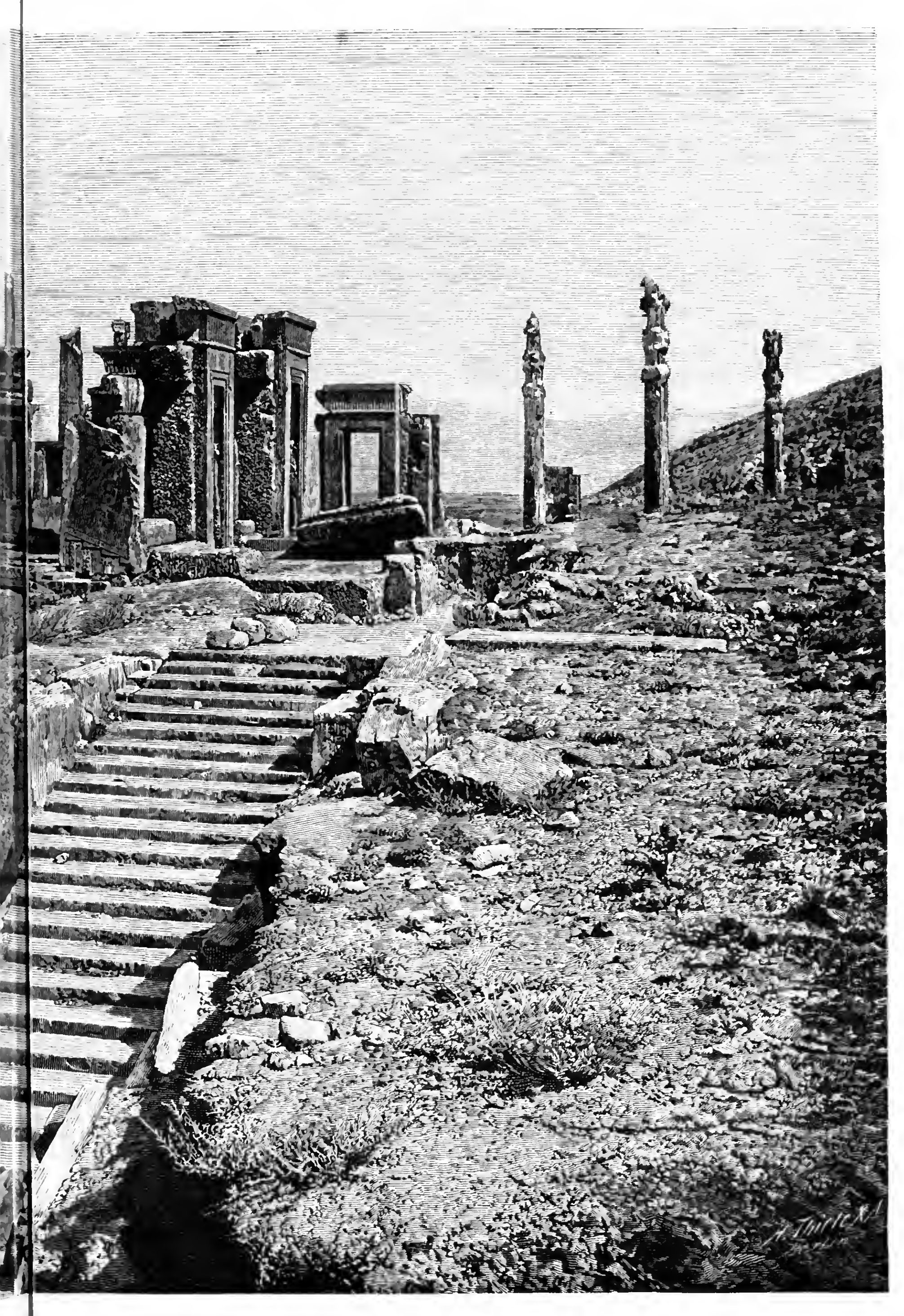
On the highest part of the terrace was situated the so-called Palace of Darius (PLATE X.). It consists of several window- and door-frames, made of great blocks of black marble, with Egyptian cornices; the connecting walls were built of brick. There are recognizable remains of a central hall fifty-two feet square, on each side of which were communicating rooms. On the southern side was a vestibule, half as large as the central hall, and opening from it by means of a door and four windows. On each side were a door and a recess. Guardsmen are sculptured on both door-jambs; and it has therefore been conjectured that guard-chambers made the wings of the vestibule. The door-jambs of the front entrance of the vestibule toward the south were made of huge monoliths; and an inscription of Xerxes graven upon them says that the edifice was erected by his father Darius. On the window-lintel are the words: "Lintel of stone prepared in the house of the King Darayavaush." Chardin, who lived in Persia and India from 1671 till 1681, detected traces of gilding in the letters of this inscription. In the stones over the doors and windows are sockets for the pivots of the folding-doors and window-shutters. On the northern side are three recesses and two passageways into a ruined room in the rear; on the right of this remains a doorway, which led into a small room. As beardless servants or pages are here sculptured with cloths, salve-boxes, censers, and small perfume-baskets, it is safe to conjecture that this was a room devoted to the king's toilet; a short distance away there is represented on the jamb of a great doorway the king, attended by two servants, going into one of the side-chambers. This side-chamber has an entrance into the central hall, as well as one leading into a second adjoining room, on the doorposts of which the king is sculptured under the guise of Verethraghna, or Hercules, strangling the lion under his arm. It is probable that this square apartment, measuring about thirty-nine feet, was appropriated for the storage of treasure and the royal utensils. The central hall has

196a



Palace of Darius at Pe

(From St



at Pe·polis: from the South.

(From ·Andreas.)

no columns, but only foundations for them. Stolze considers that the edifice was unfinished, and that the neighboring tumulus is the rubbish heap which was never cleared away. The king, attended by his parasol-holders and fanners, is sculptured on the principal portal as though about to enter the vestibule. Holes for the attachment of metal plates are visible on the tiara. On the jambs of the side doors the king, as a god, is sculptured in the act of stabbing the lion, the bull, and a monster. On the south side lies a flight of stairs, with twofold ascent; the parapet has been broken away. In the centre are three tablets, with inscriptions of Xerxes in Babylonian, Persian, and Susanian, separated by guardsmen. The group of the lion and bull is seen on each side. On the western side Artaxerxes III. (Ochus) constructed a flight of stairs, landing in a gateway decorated with guardsmen. At the same time he changed the recess of the central hall into a stately entrance. The central wall of the stairway is devoted to an inscription-tablet and two rows of figures; over the steps and on the outer facing are servants mounting with dishes, game, and other necessities of the table. In the inscription Artaxerxes gives his genealogy, and beseeches for himself and his land the protection of Ahura Mazda and Mithra.

In a southeasterly direction lies the Palace of Xerxes. It is now a mass of ruins, and shows traces of a conflagration. In the remains of the doors the king is seen, with his parasol-holder. On one of the eastern doors, there is a servant with a censer and napkin; on each of the two southern doors, leading into chambers adjoining a great hall, are two men with a goat, which evidently is meant for sacrifice; others bring table utensils. The columns, and probably the walls also, were of wood. The principal interest attached to this building centres in the staircases. The entrance to the vestibule of the central hall faces the north; and here lies a great platform, which is reached from both the eastern and western sides by magnificent flights of stairs. The one toward the west has slabs bearing trilingual inscriptions of Xerxes. There are sculptured guardsmen, and on each step stand servants with banqueting utensils. A lateral flight displays groups of nations bringing gifts, among them the Ionians and Parthians, with the horse, like those already mentioned. The stairway lying at the other side of the

platform, and decorated with beautiful Assyrian friezes of lotus flowers, is shown in the illustration. At the foot of it lies the torso of a bull, the only isolated piece of sculpture in Persepolis. Above the stairway are traces of four columns originally belonging to a propylaeum. On the south side, almost directly under the palace, lies an unfinished stairway.

In a westerly direction from the palace are scattered a few fragments of an edifice of Artaxerxes Ochus. The fact that the ground was not levelled shows that the building was never completed. The platform of the edifice faces the palace of Darius. The king's inscription, which was graven on the palace of Darius, is here repeated in three languages on three separate slabs, between which stand two rows of guardsmen.

East of the palace of Xerxes stands a small structure subordinate to it, consisting of a hall with an open vestibule facing the north. On the thickly scattered blocks forming the doors and recesses are found the well-known representations of the king emerging from the edifice and slaying the lion, the ox, and the monster. There are also numerous guardsmen. The portrait of Xerxes is here fairly recognizable. It shows a long, bearded face with a prominent hooked nose. In the middle ground, between the two buildings last mentioned, stands a propylaeum of Darius, the western door-posts of which are still standing. At the eastern door is found a novel representation of the king sitting on his throne. The throne stands on a high dais, with legs decorated with a number of large rings, and ending in lions' claws. The sides of the dais are divided into three panels, filled with figures, supporting the cross-beams with upstretched arms. The throne has similar feet, which are fastened to the sides by means of cross-bars. It has a high back. The king's feet rest upon a stool. Above all rises a canopy resting upon wooden columns with a tasselled carpet, on which was blazoned the winged orb of the sun between bands of rosettes. Above all is a representation of Ahura Mazda.

The last ruin is that of Darius's Hall of a Hundred Columns. It is a most magnificent building, 230 feet square; but unfortunately it is almost entirely demolished. Each side has two great entrances, and nine recesses between them and the corners. On the north side,

where there was a vestibule, the recesses were perforated for windows. This vestibule had entrances on both sides with guardsmen, and on the front of the side walls are bulls, just as in the portico of Xerxes. The eight doorways are ornamented with the well-known sculptures. On the south side the representation of the king on his throne is repeated (Fig. 45). On the north side, opposite the throne, there stand another pair of censers and two officials. The dais displays five rows of guardsmen. On the east and west sides Darius is represented in conflict with the lion, bull, and monster. The roof of this gigantic hall was supported by ten times ten marble columns, the socles of which still remain, while the ground is covered with the remains of drums of columns and the bulls that made the double voluted capitals. It is not easy to determine in what way this devastation came about. Stolze, who made the first careful examination of the *débris*, found pieces of charred cedar; so that it is probable that the work of destruction was done by the flames; yet it is remarkable that no trace of the action of fire is seen on the blocks of marble, which generally, when exposed to its ravages, crack off in flakes.

Directly east from this hall on the mountain side is a royal tomb, but unfortunately it has no inscription. The façade is an exact imitation of the tomb of Darius, which will be described later. The rosettes adorning the framework of the door are very similar to those on the Erechtheum at Athens. The interior consists of a room cut from the solid rock, with a low rounded ceiling. In the back wall are three deep, semicircular recesses, with a hollow for the reception of the body. The blocks of stone which sealed the tomb have been thrown down, and the contents have been carried off. Somewhat farther along the mountain side lies a cistern, in which the water was once collected, and carried across the terrace to the palace. Under the building of Xerxes the original aqueducts have been discovered. Farther to the southward, at the foot of the mountain, are two tombs. One is finished and the other unfinished. It is possible that one of them may have been designed for Darius Codomannus.

This magnificent platform of palaces, which has suffered far more from the fanaticism of barbarous men than from the ravages of time in league with the events of history, lies at some little distance

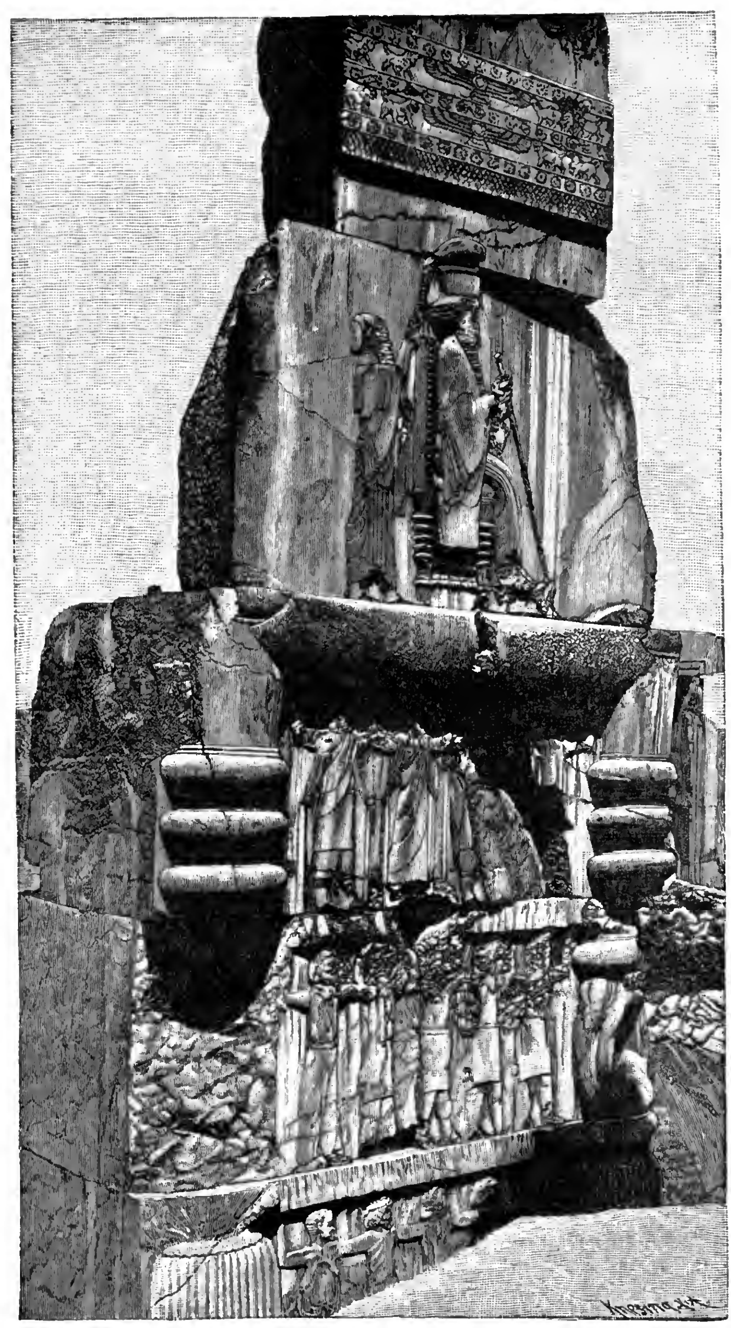


FIG. 45. — The King enthroned. Relief from Darius's Hall of a Hundred Columns. (After Stolze-Andreas.)

from the actual capital, Persepolis, or Parsakarta as it was probably called in Old Persian. This city, known in the Middle Ages as Istakhr, 'the strong' (Old Persian, *stakhra*), extended on both sides of the Pulvar; so that Alexander the Great, when he descended from the western mountains, had only to cross the Kur, or Araxes, probably at the place where now Pul-i-nau, 'the new bridge,' is situated. In Istakhr also are the remains of Achaemenian buildings. The city stretched out between the mountains Rakhmet and Naksh-i-Rustam, and the places Hajiabad, Istakhr, and Naksh-i-Rajab contain monuments of the ancient Persian dynasties. It lay at the entrance of a mountain pass; and the ford across the river was guarded by three fortifications, — the castle Istakhr, Shekvan, and 'the rent castle.' Even at the present day there are to be seen, among the mountains rising from the river valley, traces of fortifications, — called Kalah-i-Serb, or the 'cypress castle,'— stone walls, and cisterns built of indestructible cement. The southernmost ruin of the city consists of a marble terrace, the Takht-i-Taūs, 'the peacock throne.' At Hajiabad, on the north side of a great palace precinct, lie the ruins of an Achaemenian castle, called the Harem of Jemshid (Fig. 46). They consist of a few door-jambs and relics of walls. One column, crowned with a bull capital, but without the double volutes, still stands in position, and countless fragments of columns are scattered over the ground. A colossal gateway at some distance toward the east gives evidence of having been erected in the period of the Sassanians. It consists of a side door, a central passageway between one column and two antae, and a gate-house.

The precipice of Naksh-i-Rustam is situated at a bend in the mountains. In the accompanying cut (Fig. 47) can be seen the façades of three tombs facing the south; a fourth, hewn in a jutting crag, looks toward the west. The second tomb from the right, as one faces, is the 'Tomb of Darius.' It alone has an inscription. Like other tombs of similar architecture, it makes a cruciform recess, the central portion of which is a representation in relief of the façade of the palace of Darius, with the door crowned with the Egyptian concave cornice. Here the position of the beams is very clearly distinguished, while in the ruins of the palace itself every trace of them has disappeared. The beams of the architrave

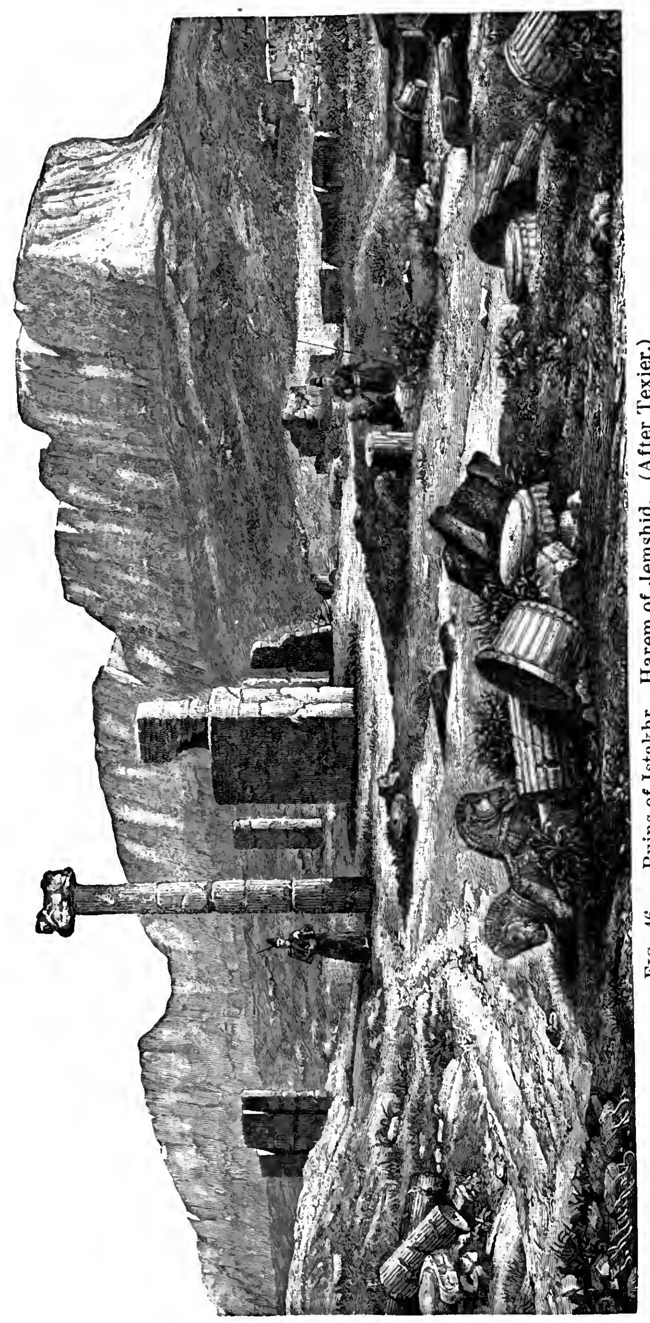


FIG. 46. — Ruins of Istakhr. Harem of Jemshid. (After Texier.)

rest, not directly upon the columns, but on cross-beams, placed between the double half-bulls. Above the architrave lie the cross-beams of the roof, the projecting ends forming a denticulated frieze. Upon these stands the geison, or cornice, as in Ionic temples; since, for the most part, the prototypes of Persian architecture are to be found in Asia Minor, especially in Lycia. Above the roof of the façade stands a double-storied edifice, each part supported by a row of human figures. On each corner are posts and legs like those described on the king's throne, with the exception that those on the tomb end in the head of the monster, showing that through the king's effort it had become so tame as to carry him, in the same way as Ahriman was once used by Tahmurath as a horse. The upper story is adorned with a thoroughly Grecian frieze of leaf and bud ornament, below an astragal. The king stands on a dais, worshipping before Ahura Mazda and the fire. The inscriptions are behind the king, on the pillared façade and on the upper portion of the left-hand side-wall of the recess. The interior of the tomb consists of a long, narrow passageway, from which open three oblong chambers, each with three hollows for bodies. These were covered with lids. The interiors of the other tombs are similar, but not exactly the same. Owing to the lack of inscriptions, it is impossible to determine for what kings the other three tombs were designed. If it can be surmised that the son had a place prepared for himself next his father, then the first tomb on the left may have been for Xerxes, the third for Artaxerxes. Darius II. would, in this case, have been laid in the tomb at the bend facing the west; and the three tombs on the Takht-i-Jemshid would have been prepared for the three last Achaemenians, — Artaxerxes II., Artaxerxes III., and Codomannus.

The building standing opposite the tombs is a kakh, or fire-tower, called Kaabah Zardusht (Fig. 48). There is one like it in Pasargadae, as well as in Naubanjan, south of Fahliyan, in western Persis. There is still another preserved in Firuzabad. On the coins of the monarchs of Persis at the time of the Parthians, there are representations of similar towers. The building bears a close resemblance to the city towers on a relief at Pinara in Lycia, and also to the rock-tombs, such as that at Phellus, where wood architecture is imitated. As high as the door-sill the building is solid.

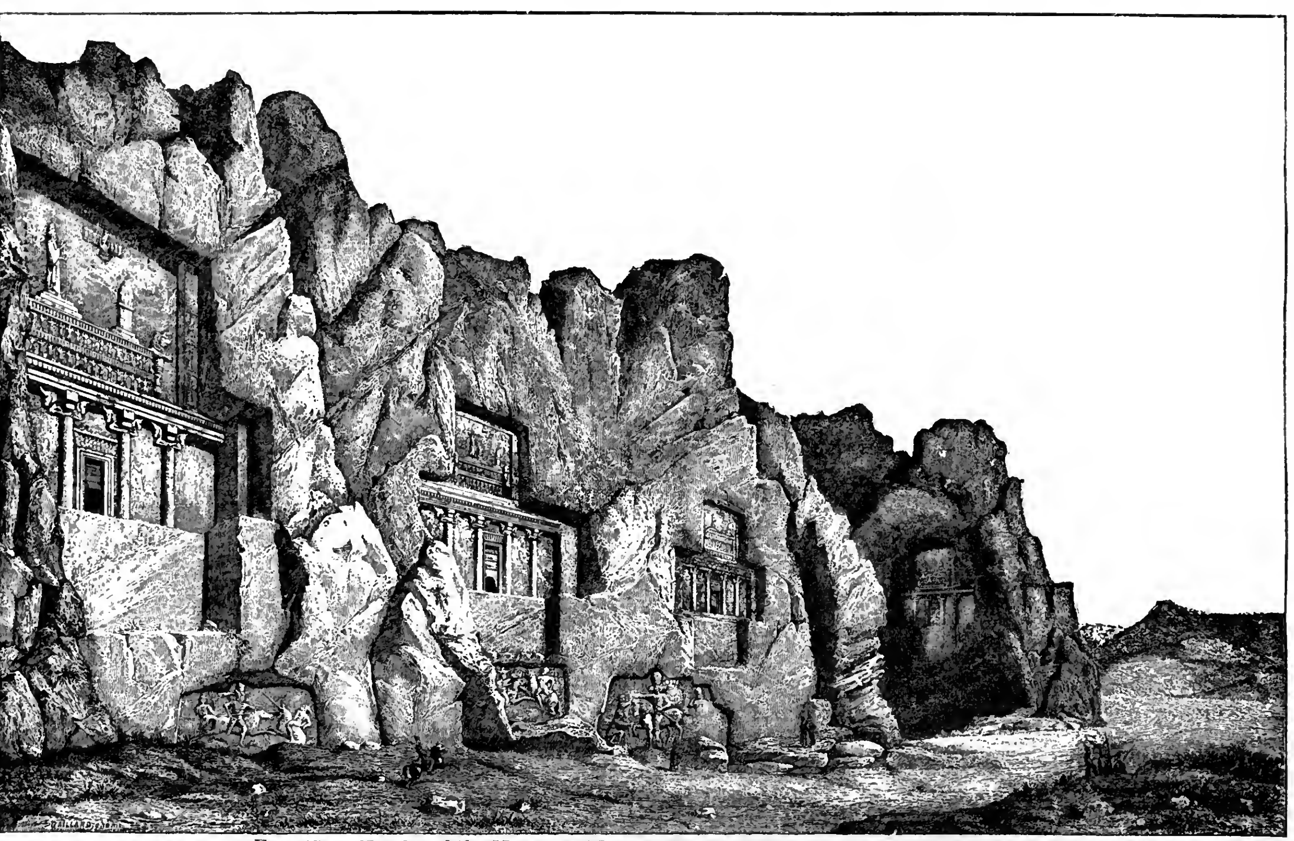


Fig. 47. — Tombs of the Kings, at Naksh-i-Rustam. Tomb of Darius. (After Texier.)

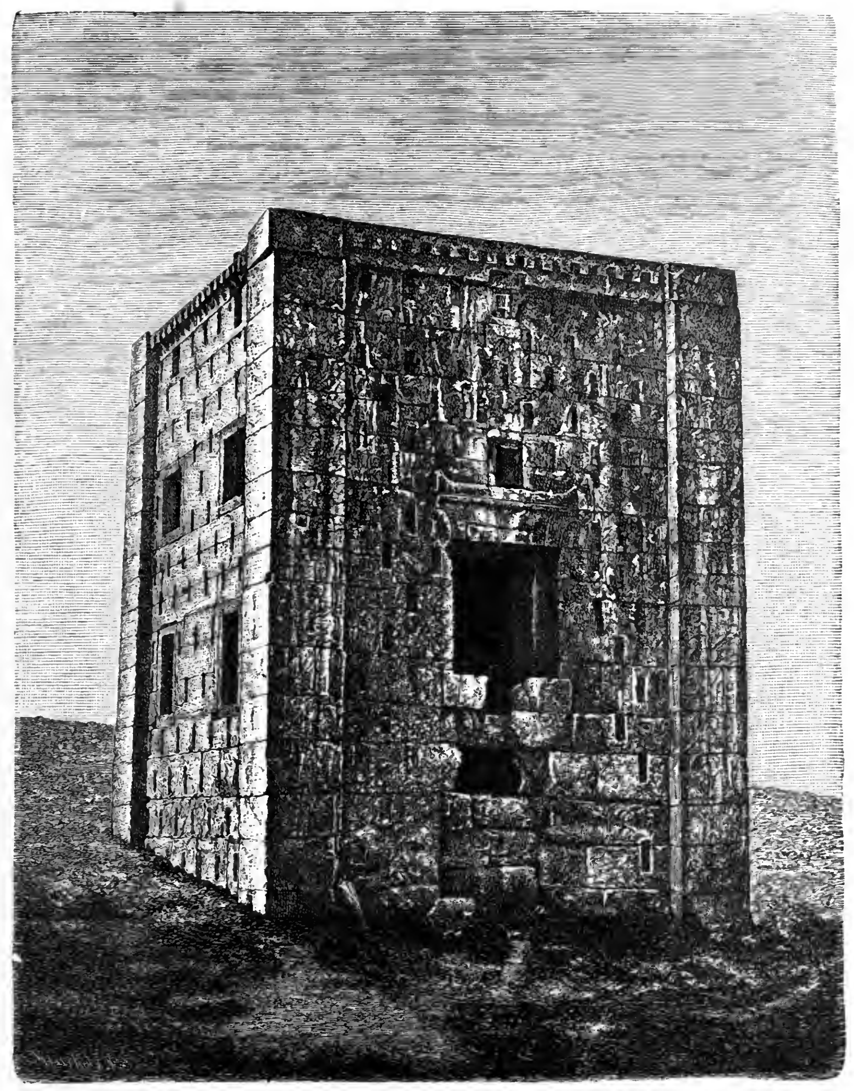


FIG. 48. — **Tower of Fire, at Naksh-i-Rustam.** (After Dieulafoy.)

The upper portion consists of a single chamber. There is no sign of a vent for the smoke. As smoke is the work of the evil spirit, and offensive to the pure fire, all measures had to be taken to prevent its formation. On the outside of the tower are seen not only window-like recesses, but also small cavities regularly disposed over the surface; these served to fasten the stucco or sheets of metal

with which the building was covered. As can be recognized in the engraving, a lofty ornamentation reached from the cornice over the door to the edge of the roof. The door was reached by a flight of steps now destroyed. The roof is of stone and perfectly flat.

A hall very similar to that of Xerxes is found also in Susa, on the northern tumulus. It was composed of thirty-six columns, with vestibules, situated on the western and eastern sides. In an inscription of Darius, found by Loftus, this throne-room was called Apadana. Artaxerxes Mnemon, and the forty-third verse of the eleventh chapter of Daniel give it the same appellation. Artaxerxes in his inscription states that Darius I. built it, and that he himself restored it after its destruction by fire.



Fig. 49. — Seal of Darius I. Cylinder in the British Museum.

The British Museum owns the seal-cylinder of Darius (Fig. 49). It is of green chalcedony, with a trilingual inscription: "I Darayavaush the King."

Xerxes, or Khsayarsha, who is known in the Bible as Ahasuerus, reigned from 486 to 465 B. C. His first act was the suppression of the Egyptian insurrection, which had broken out toward the end of Darius's reign. The Egyptians had selected a king named Khabbash, who endeavored to fortify the land against the Asiatics; but after he had reigned two years he was defeated by the army of Xerxes. In the last year of his reign the Apis-bull, which had been enthroned in the thirty-first year of Darius, died. Xerxes appointed his own brother, Achaemenes, satrap of the country. Of Egyptian monuments of Xerxes' time can be mentioned only two, — an unimportant inscription in Hamamat left by a Persian official, Atiuhi, son

of Artamas and Kenza, and an alabaster vase, which bears the name of the king in the Persian, Susanian, Babylonian, and Egyptian tongues. It is preserved in the Louvre (Fig. 50). Fragments of similar vases were brought to London from Susa by Loftus, and from Halicarnassus by Newton.

In Babylon the satrap had been murdered; therefore the city was again conquered, and the temple of Bel, which had been used for purposes of defence, was destroyed. Xerxes is most familiarly known by his unfortunate expedition against Greece. The most extensive preparations were made for collecting a monstrous army and a great fleet — to which the Phoenicians and Syrians, the Egyptians, Cyprians, Cilicians, Pamphylians, Lycians, the Asiatic Dorians, Carians, and Ionians, the Greeks of the Islands and the Aeolians, furnished ships — was put in commission, and manned with Persians, Medes, and Sacae. A double bridge of boats, carefully described by Herodotus, spanned the Hellespont between Abydos and Sestos, the distance being at that time six stades, or about seven-eighths of a mile, which, according to Schliemann, has since been increased to seven by the wearing away of the shore. The right-hand bridge was composed of 360 boats, the other of 314; and they were anchored in such a manner as best to meet the resistance of the current. It took the host a whole week to make the passage. In order to avoid the dangerous promontory of Athos, a canal was cut for the fleet through the ridge at its base. Even at the present day the vestiges of the work are visible. The names of the nationalities who took part in the expedition are given in detail in Herodotus, and their equipment is described. The northern states of Greece offered their submission. It was only when the Persian army reached the pass of Thermopylae, where the road from Thessaly into Boeotia, Phocis, and Attica ran between Mount Callidromus and the sea, that they met with resistance. Here an army of 6200 Greeks tried to beat back the tide of invasion, but through treachery a band of Persians succeeded in outflanking them. A desperate battle ensued, in which Leonidas, king of Sparta, and the whole band of Hellenes perished. The Persians also lost many of their ablest men, among whom were two brothers of the king. But the victory, though costly, placed the whole of Greece at the mercy of the Asiatics. An expe-

dition, of which we have explicit accounts, was led by pillagers and marauders against Delphi without the knowledge of the king. The main part of the host directed its march against Athens, which was captured and plundered. Meantime the Persian fleet had suffered a fearful storm on the coast of Magnesia, and had engaged in a battle at Artemisium, the north cape of Euboea. But, though it had lost a number of ships, it succeeded in making an entrance into the bay of Athens. By the advice of Themistocles, the Athenians had spent all their resources on their fleet; and through their consummate naval tactics they won a brilliant victory in 480 B.C., over the hostile fleet at Salamis, thus saving not only the Grecian mother country, but also western civilization, from destruction. Xerxes returned to Asia, leaving Mardonius with a picked army to retrieve the Persian fortunes. Mardonius, however, was completely overthrown at Plataea. The Hellenes now began to carry the war into Asia. One after another the islands, the colonies, planted by the Greeks on the coast of Asia Minor, Thrace, and the control of the Peloponnesus, were torn from the Persians, principally through the efforts of the Athenians. In 466 B.C. a Phoenician fleet and a Persian army were defeated at the mouth of the Eurymedon, giving Athens the mastery of the Mediterranean, which she retained until 449, when it was partially recovered by the Persians. Athens, by her adroitness and enterprising spirit, became the leading city of Greece, and after the Persian war, through her advancement in letters and arts, took her place at the head of the culture of the European world.

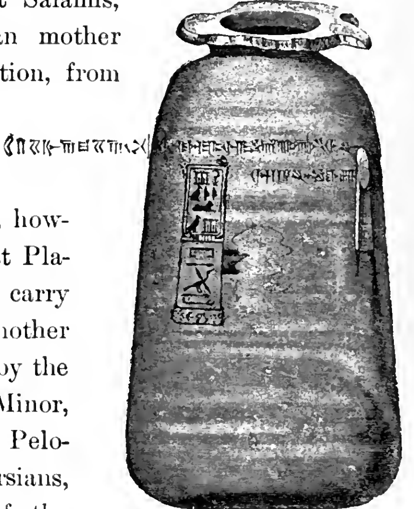


Fig. 50. — Vase of Xerxes. Paris. (After Léon de Rosny.)

Xerxes fell a victim to a court conspiracy. The quarrels of ambitious women had already begun to have an evil influence upon the realm. He was assassinated by the Hyrcanian Artabanus, the commander of the body-guard, and a chamberlain named Mithradates.

There is no question that the Persian reverses seemed less important to the Persians themselves than they now appear to us in historical perspective. From that time forth we can recognize a gradual declension in the affairs of Asia, which prepared the way for the conquest of Alexander. The Persian Empire still retained its proud position; and the extraordinary resources at the king's command are known from the Grecian descriptions of the proverbial luxury of the court, as well as from the architectural undertakings, some of which we have studied in our visit to Persepolis. Ecbatana also was adorned by Xerxes with regal edifices, but only a few socles of columns are now in existence there. In the gorges of Elwend, on the mountain that looks down upon the city, a wall of porpyhry rising amid a wilderness of crags and rushing mountain streams, both Darius and his son caused inscriptions to be engraved, but they have no historical importance. At a short distance from these there stands upon a steep height a platform used for the purposes of fire-worship; even at the present day it is visited by Persian pilgrims. On the crags at the castle of Van, where the Assyrian and Armenian kings left inscriptions, Xerxes added a trilingual inscription, in which he says that his father had caused the tablet, or stele (*stānam*), to be prepared for the reception of the engraving. Xerxes' seal, cut upon a cylinder of lapis lazuli, is preserved at Brussels. The legend giving the king's name as pronounced in Babylonian or Aramaic reads: 'seal of Khishyarsha.' The word meaning seal, *maraka*, is expressed merely by the initial letter.

Xerxes's assassin, Artabanus, was ambitious to bring his own family upon the throne; and he therefore endeavored to put his victim's sons out of the way. In this he was successful only in the case of the eldest, Darius, whom he caused to be executed on a false charge of having committed the crime. An attempt to murder Artaxerxes failed; it is said that the prince, in defending himself, killed Artabanus with his own hand. The eunuch Mithradates, or Aspamithres, the actual assassin of Xerxes, met his end after cruel tortures. A second brother, Hystaspes, was absent at the time, and being older than Artaxerxes, laid claim to the throne. He seems to have taken advantage of an insurrection of the satrap of Bactria to substantiate his claim; but he was defeated after two battles, and to-

gether with the satrap was put out of the way. The sons of Artabanus endeavored to carry out their father's ambitious schemes; and they also had to be conquered before Artaxerxes Longimanus (in Persian, Dargadasta, 'long hand') was firmly established upon the throne, which he occupied from 464 till 424 B.C.

Simultaneously with the Bactrian rising, Inarus, a Lybian chief, making his headquarters at Marea, induced the Egyptians to revolt. The Persian officials were expelled, an army was raised, and the assistance of Athens was asked and obtained; an Athenian fleet of 200 ships was sent to the Nile. The Persians, under command of the king's brother, Achaemenes, were defeated at Papremis; the satrap himself was killed, and Memphis was besieged. Artaxerxes then despatched a great army and fleet against Egypt; the insurgents were conquered; the Nile was dammed, so that the Athenian fleet was left high and dry, and the troops were dispersed. Inarus was taken prisoner, and crucified in Persia as a rebel. On a Persian chalcedony cylinder, discovered at Kertch in the Crimea, there is an allusion to the victory over Inarus. Amyrtaeus, an ally of the rebel, maintained himself for some years in the marshy districts of the Delta; but the whole country ultimately came once more into the power of the Persians. The Athenians, especially under Cimon's leadership, continued to inflict damage upon the Persians in Asia Minor until an agreement concerning the boundary of the respective empires was settled by an Athenian embassy to Artaxerxes in the year 449 B.C. The Persian fleet — as we are told by later Greek writers — was not to come within sight of the roadstead of Phaselis, on the border of Lycia and Pamphylia. The schedule of tribute still remained in force; but the satraps were not to be allowed to collect the taxes arbitrarily. As the Grecian waters made a sufficiently wide domain for the mercantile states of the Hellenes, it was agreed that no encroachments should be made upon Persian territory.

Artaxerxes restored the finances, which since the time of Xerxes's wars had been greatly exhausted. He lived long enough to have the satisfaction of seeing his arch-enemy Athens made harmless by the Peloponnesian war. The sole extant Persian monument of art belonging to his long reign is a vase of gray porphyry preserved in the treasury of St. Mark's at Venice. An inscription on

the palace of Xerxes at Persepolis is only partially preserved in the Assyrian translation, and merely contains the statement that he had finished his father's house. Artaxerxes was a ruler of a gentle nature, and his virtues were recognized even by the Greeks.

Xerxes II., the only son of Artaxerxes and the Queen Damaspia, mounted the throne in 424 B.C.; but he had reigned only forty-five days when he was assassinated by his half-brother, Secyndianus. A third son, by Cosmartydene, bearing the name of Artaxerxes Ochus, was satrap of Hyrcania by the appointment of his father. He collected an army, and laid claim to the throne. The fratricide, having been deserted by the nobles, was arrested, and suffocated in heated ashes. Ochus assumed the name of Darius (December, 424 B.C.). The reign of this monarch is filled with unedifying events, such as the conspiracy of his brother Arsites, and the revolt of the Lydian satrap, Pissuthnes. The situation of the Greeks was on the whole favorable for the Persians; the satraps, Tissaphernes and Pharnabazus, in Asia Minor, by craft and bribery, succeeded in preventing the Grecian states from concentrating their forces against Asia. In Egypt, Darius II. made additions to the temple of Edfu; he also built in Hib. In the last years of his reign the Egyptians were able to throw off the Persian yoke at the very time when the Persians were engaged in quelling disturbances in Asia Minor. The founder of the Twenty-eighth Dynasty was a second Amyrtaeus, or Amen-ar-t-rut, of Saïs; but he reigned only six years, the mercenaries by whose aid he mounted the throne deposing him, and putting in his place Nepherites I. of Mendes. The Twenty-ninth Dynasty numbers five monarchs, and their power lasted until the year 387 B.C.

Darius was succeeded in 404 B.C. by his son Arsaces, who took the name of Artaxerxes II. He was called Mnemon by the Greeks, and Abiyataka by the Persians, on account of his wonderful memory. Parysatis, the queen-mother, was anxious to secure the throne to her other son, Cyrus, born after Darius had become king, and in her judgment the abler man. After Artaxerxes had reigned four years, Cyrus began to mature his plans for the deposition of his brother, purposing to place the crown of the Achaemenians on his own head. The Greeks, and especially the Athenian Xenophon, who in his Anabasis gives a more trustworthy account of the facts

than in his romance about the youth of the elder Cyrus (Cyropaedia), ascribe to him chivalrous feelings, bravery, and honor, together with a peculiarly winning manner. Cyrus collected a great army under the command of Ariaeus. Grecian troops from the Peloponnesus under command of Clearchus, Achaean troops under Socrates, Boeotian under Proxenus, and Thessalian under Menon, took part in the expedition, The whole Greek contingent is known to history as the "Ten Thousand." Tissaphernes kept his eyes on the movements of Cyrus; and, in spite of the secrecy with which his preparations were made, he comprehended their real purpose, and reported them to the king. Cyrus set forth from Sardis in the spring of the year 401 B.C.; and, after marching through Cilicia, Syria, and the plains of the Euphrates, which was crossed at Thapsacus, he reached the vicinity of Babylon. We possess a minute description of this journey in Xenophon's Anabasis; but, unfortunately, several of the geographical positions mentioned are extremely difficult to identify, partly because the names that occur cannot be fixed upon the map, and partly because the day's marches and parasangs were not measured by any regular standard, but represent various distances according to the difficulty or ease of the march. The battle in which the crown of Asia was at stake took place at Cunaxa, east of Feluja, and about fifty miles northwest of Babylon. The chivalrous prince, while making an impetuous cavalry onslaught, was wounded in the eye. On recovering from the stupefaction of the blow, he was with difficulty led from the tumult; but a ruffianly fellow struck him in the knee-joint, causing him to be thrown to the ground so violently that his temple was crushed against a stone. The king also was wounded by Cyrus himself; he was attended by his body surgeon, Ctesias of Cnidus, and was soon able to hasten to the spot where his brother's dead body lay. He gave orders to have his hand and head cut off. Neither side displayed great military skill; even the Greeks, who conquered the Persian mailed cavalry, committed serious tactical blunders. The king was actually conquered; and yet he enjoyed the advantages of the battle, since he was freed from a dangerous rival. The Greeks were treated on their return march in a perfidious and cowardly fashion, and were continually harassed by the

Persians; but during their long sojourn in the king's territory, they learned much that served to correct the prevalent impression about the unity and invincibility of the Persian power. The return march was made in a northerly direction across eastern Armenia; and the sea was first reached at Trapezus (Trebizond), on the Black Sea. Sparta, which had inclined to take the part of Cyrus, now began to wage war against the satraps in Asia Minor, in behalf of the Grecian cities; but whatever successes were won, were rendered nugatory by internal dissensions. Persian gold flowed into the coffers of the enemies of Sparta; and Persian ships, as well as Athenian triremes, anchored off the coasts of the Peloponnesus. Ultimately the king, through the clever diplomacy of his satraps, and the narrow policy of the Greeks, had the satisfaction of dictating in set terms a peace, according to which the Greeks were obliged to give up all claims to the Asiatic mainland; at the same time the islands and colonies were separated from the mother cities, and declared to be free communities, thereby causing a most serious dismemberment of the Hellenic power. Even victorious Sparta became a satellite of Persia, by reason of this Peace of Antalcidas, in 387 B.C. Susa, in spite of the Grecian victories, became the centre of a new political power. The Persian fleet once more was mistress of the sea.

But the condition favorable to Persia could not long continue. The taxes imposed upon the states of Asia Minor had become intolerable; and a rebellion headed by Evagoras of Salamis, in Cyprus, broke out, which lasted many years. It received the support of Athens and of Egypt during the reigns of the Pharaoh Achoris (400–387 B.C.) and his successor Nectanebus I., and resulted in freeing Cyprus and Cilicia from the Persian yoke and even in the conquest of Tyre. Tiribazus, who at the time of the return of the Ten Thousand was satrap of Armenia, was obliged to pacify Cilicia, and then sail against Cyprus. Evagoras's fleet was defeated, and Salamis was blockaded; but the brave insurgent leader's generally successful struggle was crowned with a favorable peace by the terms of which he was merely required to pay tribute (383 B.C.). The miserable quarrels among the Greeks themselves, and the lack of adequate mutual assistance, were responsible for the failure of Evagoras's scheme of freeing Greece from the Persians. However, even here

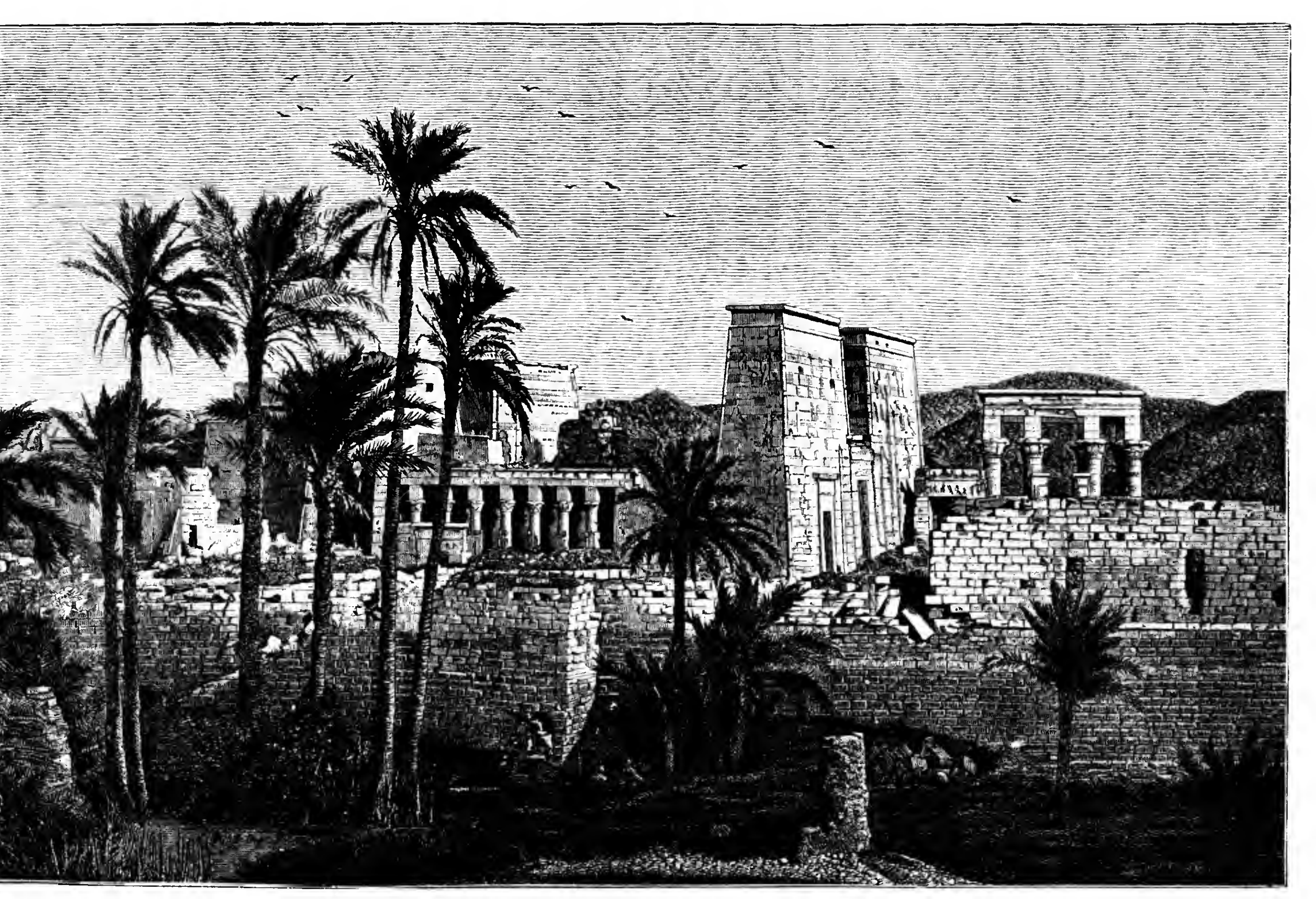
in Asia Minor, symptoms of feebleness began to show themselves in the kingdom; an illustration of it was found in the story of Datames, called by Nepos the bravest of barbarian generals. In consequence of being unfairly treated at court, he threw off his allegiance, and associated with himself a number of other satraps and Mausolus, the vassal king of Caria. This formidable rebellion was crushed not by arms, but by Persian gold. Datames was assassinated. After order had been restored in Asia Minor and Cyprus, it came Egypt's turn. An army and fleet conquered Mendes; but here further successes were prevented by discords among the Persian leaders, in whose number served the Athenian Iphicrates, and by the admirable system of defence organized by the Pharaoh Nectanebus, or Nekht-hor-heb (387–369 B.C.), a son of Nepherites and founder of the Thirtieth (Sebennytic) Dynasty. This Nectanebus I. restored Egypt to a position of prosperity; and in consequence of the part which he took in the agitations against the Persians, the land recovered something of its ancient prestige. Numerous architectural remains in Thebes, Memphis, and the oasis of Khargeh, are evidences of this revolution. A noteworthy inscription with mystical illustrations, showing the conquest of light over darkness, is found on the so-called Metternich stele, which was discovered in Alexandria. Fortune did not desert Artaxerxes. The struggles of Egypt and the Spartan Agesilaus failed of attaining any success. Quarrels for the succession of the throne broke out in Egypt. The King Tachus (369–361 B.C.) was expelled, and came to an untimely end at the Persian court through his immoderate gluttony. His cousin, Nectanebus II., who had been associated with him from 367 B.C., was the last Pharaoh to sit on the throne of Menes. His reign ended in 350 B.C.

Artaxerxes II. died 358 B.C. at the age of ninety-four, after reigning forty-six years; the cause of his death is said to have been grief over family afflictions. He had lost his wife Statira by poison administered at the instigation of his mother, Parysatis; and in consequence of this misfortune, Babylon, where he had been residing, became distasteful to him, and he went to live at Susa, where, about 390 B.C., he restored the palace of Darius.

His son, Vahauka, or Ochus, an ambitious man, having succeeded

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PLATE XI.



The Island of Philae, at southern boundary of the Cataracts of Assuan.

View taken from Bigeh, the opposite island.

in putting his brothers out of the way, mounted the throne as Artaxerxes III., and reigned from 358 until 337 B.C. He attempted to invade Egypt, but was driven back, whereupon Cyprus and Phoenicia also broke into rebellion. The endeavors of the satraps of Syria and Cilicia to subdue the rebellion were in vain. Ochus himself took the field; and Tennes of Sidon, though he had made a successful resistance against the Persian generals, lost his courage at the king's approach, and treacherously gave up his native city, which the wretched inhabitants set on fire, perishing themselves in its flames. Cyprus also was brought back under Persian rule by Idrieus, the satrap of Caria. After this victory the army set forth against Egypt, which was compelled to submit through the co-operation of Bagoas and the Grecian admiral, Mentor. In almost all of these military successes, it was Greek mercenaries who turned the scale. Nectanebus II., king of Egypt, seeing the successive fall of his cities, as the Persians proceeded from Bubastis to Memphis, fled to Ethiopia; and thus ended the long line of the Egyptian Pharaohs.

Nectanebus II. had been actively engaged in the erection of buildings. The temple of Karnak contains a number of pylons attributed to him; but his most important edifice was the temple of Philae (PLATE XI.), which is interesting from the fact that it was the last building founded under the Pharaohs. In after times it was completed by the Ptolemies, although the external decorations of the walls are the work of the Roman emperors. The island on which it stands is called in Egyptian Aalek (or, with the article, P-aalek), 'boundary island;' it is composed of red granite, and is protected from the current by masonry. The temple foundations are so irregularly disposed that scarcely one building stands in line with any other. Hence results that picturesque resemblance to Gothic architecture, combined with the impressive Egyptian majesty, which is the characteristic of the temple of Philae. The great temple was dedicated to Isis, while on the neighboring island of Abaton was situated the tomb of Osiris. Osiris, however, together with Horus, Hathor, and Imhotep, and other gods, also had their holy altars on Philae. Even as late as 453 A.D. a college of priests still served Isis. In 571 the masonry of the embankment for the shore was restored by Theodorus, Duke of the Thebaïd, and the pronaos was dedicated as a

church of St. Stephen; at the same time the sculptures were smeared over with clay. Thus in this the latest temple foundation of the Pharaohs heathenism longest kept a foothold. On the southwest corner of the island stands the peristyle of Nectanebus II. The columns have expanded bells, with heads of Hathor resting upon them as capitals, and up to a certain height are tied together by walls. This building is not shown in the accompanying plate. A beautiful colonnade of the time of the Caesars leads to the temple. No two of the bell capitals have the same decoration. In the engraving, only a portion of the rear wall is visible; but beyond can be seen a small hypaethral temple, or rather columned hall. The building was erected to Isis-Hathor by Ptolemy VII. (Philometor), who reigned from 181 until 145 B.C. The engraving also shows the front gates of a great vestibule, which were begun by Nectanebus, and finished by Ptolemy X. (Lathyrus), who reigned from B.C. 116 until 81. Before the pylons are the remains of sphinxes and obelisks, while a triumphal gate of the time of the Caesars is built at right angles with the pylon. The western pylon is pierced by a gate leading to a *mameisi*, or natal temple, occupying the west side of the vestibule, where the birth of Horus by Isis was celebrated. This building was erected by Ptolemy IX. (Euergetes II., 145–116 B.C.), and surrounded by Tiberius with a colonnade, which can be seen in the picture. The other pylon leads into the sanctuary erected by Ptolemy II. (Philadelphus, 284–246 B.C.). It consists of a vestibule with ten columns, and the front part is hypaethral. The remains of a still more ancient temple can be seen at the left in the engraving. Egypt was harshly treated by Ochus. The walls of the great cities were shattered, temples were plundered, and the sacred utensils were carried away to Persia.

During the last years of his reign Ochus carried out a vigorous and careful policy. His political insight was illustrated by his recognition of the danger threatening the Persian empire in the ambitious enterprises of Philip of Macedon and by his crafty opposition to their realization by supporting the smaller states of Greece. The eunuch Bagoas, who had been the commander of the army that reconquered Egypt, imagined that the king's favor was turning from him; and he poisoned his master, in 337 B.C. He established Ochus's

son, Arses, on the throne, but put him also to death when he found that the young king was likely to rule independently. One of his friends, Codomannus, the son of Arsanes, a grand-nephew of Artaxerxes II., was raised to the throne in the year after that in which Philip of Macedon was murdered and Alexander became king (335 B.C.). In the spring of 334 B.C. Alexander led thirty thousand well-disciplined foot-soldiers and between four and five thousand cavalry across the Hellespont, and in the month of May gained a victory on the Granicus, which practically put Asia Minor into his power. The Persians had mobilized great masses of soldiery, and prepared a fleet for active sea service; but the satraps carried out their instructions in a half-hearted manner because they underestimated the danger. Unfortunately for the kingdom, Mentor of Rhodes, the most capable of the Persian generals, died at the beginning of the next year. Alexander proceeded along the coast of southwestern Asia Minor. In Caria the vassal of Persia, Othontobates, was deposed. A diversion was made from Lycia, by way of Sagalassus, to Gordium and Ancyra, in the interior of Asia Minor, whereby the passes of Cilicia were opened for the expedition to cross the mountains without hindrance. From Tarsus, Alexander followed the same course as Cyrus the Younger, reaching the coast near the Gulf of Issus. Where the mountains touch the sea lie the Syrian Gates, now known as "Jonah's Pillars," between Bayas and Alexandretta. From this place the road crosses the pass of Beilan (or the Syrian Pass), and reaches the plain of Antioch. While Alexander was at Mallus, a city at the mouth of the Pyramus in Cilicia, he learned that Darius Codomannus was encamped at Sochi, northeast of the lake of Antioch. He therefore made his arrangements to cross by the pass of Beilan, and seek an engagement with the Persian king. But when he heard that the latter had already pushed across by the passes of Mount Amanus, he turned back and started in pursuit. (These last passes are to-day known as the passes of Baghtshe.) Alexander was delighted to see that Darius went so far to the southward where the plain of Issus became narrowly circumscribed. There the Persian could bring into action only a small portion of his immense army. The battle of Issus (November, 333 B.C.) was very sanguinary. Alexander, in his zeal

to capture or kill the king, who was within sight upon his chariot, charged at the head of his cavalry, with lance in rest, upon the Persian guards which Oxathres had marshalled before the royal chariot for the protection of his brother. Alexander was slightly wounded in the right thigh; Oxathres fell before the king's eyes; the horses attached to his chariot were frightened, and Darius had to save himself as best he could upon horseback. This moment of the battle is immortalized in the famous mosaic picture in the Casa del Fauno at Pompeii; the king's head is reproduced in the accompanying cut (Fig. 51). The army of the Persians followed their king in wild flight; the gold and precious commodities captured were of inestimable value. The royal court, together with Sisygambis, the mother of Darius, his queen Statira, and numberless slaves, was captured by Parmenio at Damascus.



Fig. 51. — Darius Codomannus in the Battle of Issus. From the Mosaic at Pompeii.

In rapid succession, Alexander overthrew Tyre and Gaza, thus securing the conquest of the Syrian coast, and then he hastened to Egypt. Here he met with no obstacles, but passed beyond Heliopolis to Memphis, where he assumed the title of Pharaoh, and offered sacrifices to the national gods. On the site of Rhacotis, near the most western of the mouths of the Nile, he founded the city of Alexandria, which was destined for many centuries to be one of the most illustrious of the capitals of the ancient world, a centre of trade between west and east, and the focus of all activity in letters, religion, and science. In front of the city, which was laid out by Dinochares and Cleomenes on a small strip of sand between the Mediterranean and Lake Mareotis, lay the small island of Pharos. This

was connected to the mainland by a dyke 4232 feet long, and held a lighthouse 428 feet in height, erected by Ptolemy I. The dyke was pierced by deep water-ways, which were bridged over, so that there was communication between the two harbors. In the royal city many magnificent buildings were erected; among them were the Mausoleum built by Ptolemy I., and the Serapeum which was considered, next to the Capitol at Rome, the most magnificent building in the ancient world. Further may be mentioned the Museum and the Library, where all the branches of science known to the Egyptians and Hellenes were cultivated. Alexander was publicly welcomed at the Oasis of Amun as the son of Zeus, and in Memphis he celebrated a great festival. Then once more he set out for Asia to fight the decisive battle with the Persians. Darius had in the mean time collected a new army, and it was now drawn up in the Assyrian plain east of Nineveh. Not far from the ford over the Zab is a mound composed of ruins, probably to be identified as those of the ancient Gaugamela. About eighteen miles distant, on the bank of the Bumodus, now the Ghazir-su, the Persian host, with infantry, cavalry, elephants, and scythe-bearing chariots, was drawn up in battle array. The very first onslaught of the Macedonians threw the enemy into disorder. Alexander did not conform to the usual order of attack, which was directed against the line of battle; but he attacked the left wing, and cut it off from the centre, where a desperate struggle took place. The king's charioteer was killed; and as the rumor spread that it was the king himself, the Persians in a body fled through the valley of the Shemamlik to Arbela, forty or fifty miles distant. This battle took place on the second of October, 331 B.C. From the enormous treasure captured, Alexander retained for himself Darius's jewel-box, in which, it was said, he afterward preserved a copy of the poems of Homer. He then marched to Babylon, where his entrance into the city was like a triumphal march. Next he invested Susa, and again glittering booty fell into his hands, — gold and silver, purple stuffs, and works of art, many of which had been carried away from Greece by Xerxes. From Susa, Alexander hastened through the mountains of the Uxians, in the modern Luristan, through which passed the ancient military road of Mal-amir. A Persian army held the entrance

to the valley of Persepolis; and only by the greatest exertions, and by outflanking the enemy, did Alexander force his way through the rocky pass of Rashkan, which penetrates the district of Baidha, and reach the plain of the Araxes. He crossed the river at the place where the Pul-i-nau Bridge now stands, and made his way into Persepolis, or Istakhr. Here the winter was spent, and the soldiers were allowed to rest after the strenuous exertions of war. During a banquet, the palace of the king at Hajiabad, of which we have given an account, was set on fire. Darius had fled from Ecbatana to Khorasan, but was captured and assassinated by Bessus, satrap of Bactria, at Thara, east of Simnan, where at the present time Ala, or Kehla, lies. Alexander had his body buried at Persepolis.

Alexander proceeded triumphantly through the rest of the kingdom, and spent the winter of 329–8 B.C. in Bactra. The following year he married Roxana, daughter of Oxyartes, whose mountain fortress he had taken by storm. It is probably the castle of Badegis, in the defiles of Khulum. In 327 B.C. he set out for India; he marched through the valley of the Kabul, and captured the fortress of Aornus, which commanded the passage of the Indus. The hill is now called Ranigarh, and is situated north of Ohind. By way of Taxila, or Shahderi, the Macedonians entered the domain of King Porus, who was defeated in a great battle on the Hydaspes (Behat, or Jhelam). His kingly behavior won him Alexander's friendship. Malasthana, or Multan, on the Indus, was next captured; and the conquerors returned from Pattala (Tatta) back to Persia. One portion of the army was led by Alexander himself toward Bompur and Kerman, at no great distance from the seacoast. Another division, under Craterus, pushed through Arachosia and Drangiana, in the interior. Still a third, under the naval commander Nearchus, sailed through the Persian Gulf by way of Agines (Ahwaz). Chesney has written a treatise on the several stages of the voyage. Seven years after the violent death of Darius, Alexander was taken sick with intermittent fever, contracted while inspecting the water-works on the flats of the Euphrates; and he died in the palace of Nebuchadnezzar, at Babylon, on the 13th of June, 323 B.C. His body was laid in the Mausoleum at Alexandria.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE SUCCESSORS OF ALEXANDER.

BARSINE, a daughter of Darius Codomannus, bore to Alexander a son, whose succession to the throne was prohibited. The beautiful Roxana, however, was about to become a mother; and the generals appointed as the child's guardian Perdiccas, who had been the king's trusted friend. In Macedonia the affairs of the kingdom were managed by a council in the name of the imbecile Arrhidaeus, Alexander's half-brother. The empire fell into great disorder. Perdiccas was assassinated in 321 B.C., and various native princes declared their independence of the Macedonian dominion. Atropates created a kingdom in the northwest of Media, which was named after him Atropatene. Ardoates re-established the kingdom of Armenia, though it was soon added to the Syrian Empire by the Seleucidae. On the other hand, Alexander's generals — known in history as the Diadochi, or 'Successors' — took possession of various parts of the realm without regard for Arrhidaeus, and were soon engaged in a general war among themselves for supremacy. At the battle of Ipsus, in Phrygia, which was fought in the summer of 301 B.C., Antigonus, the ablest of the Diadochi, lost his life. He had dreamed of establishing an Asiatic kingdom. After this the great empire was still further partitioned: the new realms were Syria, Asia Minor, Egypt, and Macedonia. Syria included the territory of Asia proper, and fell to Seleucus. Asia Minor, which fell to the share of Lysimachus, was still further divided into the kingdoms of Bithynia, Cappadocia, and Pontus. Lysimachus was killed in 281 B.C., in the battle of Corupedion, near Sardis, which he fought against Seleucus. Repeated changes took place in consequence of these events; but the kingdom of Pergamum, founded by Eumenes, is generally regarded as the legitimate successor of that of Lysimachus. In Egypt the Ptolemies mounted the throne;

and, after the death of Arrhidaeus, Cassander became king of Macedon.

The founder of the Syrian kingdom was Seleucus Nicator, who, after the battle of Ipsus, was recognized as the monarch of Asia. His capital was at Antioch, on the Orontes, one of sixteen cities which he built, and named after his father. Antioch grew so rapidly by the influx of colonists that four distinct cities — each included in its own wall — were surrounded by one general enclosure. For this reason the city was called Tetrapolis. It flourished especially under Antiochus the Great, and under the Caesars, who often made it their residence. It became the seat of a school of Christian theology. With Seleucus begins the era of the Seleucidae, dating from the autumnal equinox of 312 B.C. In 293 he transferred to his son Antiochus Soter the regions on the farther side of the Euphrates, and, after an eventful reign, was assassinated in 280 by Ptolemy Ceraunus, a courtier whom he had befriended.

Antiochus Soter fell in battle in 261 B.C., while fighting against the Galatians in Asia Minor. There is a cuneiform inscription, in which he announces the foundation of a temple to Nebo in Borsippa in the year 269. His successor was Antiochus II. (Theus), who reigned from 261 until 246, and was murdered by his wife Laodice, whom he had repudiated, but afterwards recalled. He was followed by his son Seleucus Callinicus; he in turn was succeeded by his son Antiochus III. (the Great), who reigned from 223 till 186. The latter, at the beginning of his reign, was obliged to defeat Molon and Alexander, the rebellious satraps of Media and Persia, who were endeavoring to throw off the suzerainty of the Seleucid monarchy. His attempt to make the conquest of Bactria and Parthia failed on account of difficulties which required his attention in the west.

At the time of Antiochus Theus, about 256 B.C., Diodotus, satrap of Bactria, had assumed the title of an independent king, and had founded a kingdom which, by spreading Greek civilization in those distant lands, even as far as India, exercised no small influence on the history of civilization. Diodotus concluded a peace with the king of Parthia, where also a dynasty, not Grecian, to be sure, but of native origin, had shaken off the yoke of the Seleucidae. These Parthian monarchs devoted themselves with great energy to the

restoration of the Persian monarchy, and with considerable success, at least in Asia; and at the same time they allowed the introduction and propagation of Grecian civilization, so far as it was consistent with the interests of the realm. The foundation of the Parthian kingdom dates from the year 248 B.C., as is proven by a Babylonian clay tablet on which the date is given according to the reckoning of the Seleucidae and the Parthians. In Bactria, Euthydemus, of Magnesia, seems to have consolidated several contemporary Grecian principalities. He entered into friendly relations with the Seleucidae; and Antiochus even gave his daughter Laodice in marriage to Euthydemus's son Demetrius, whose dominions were limited by Eucratides (Fig. 52) in 180, or about that time, to the southeastern part of the kingdom, Paropamisus, Arachosia, and Indo-Scythia, together corresponding to the modern Afghanistan. When he perished in his attempt to recover his paternal inheritance, these lands also were added to the kingdom of Eucratides.

During the last days of Eucratides, who was assassinated by his son Heliocles, many minor Greek monarchies were formed. More than a score of royal names are on record. At this last partition the Indians shook off the yoke which had been imposed upon them by Menander. About 139 B.C., when the Bactrian king was making preparations to carry assistance to the Seleucid Demetrius, who was the enemy of the Parthians, the Parthian Mithradates I. took advantage of the opportunity, and conquered a portion of the kingdom. These Bactrian kings are known to us chiefly by their coins, which, by the aid of the few details found in Justin and other writers, have been arranged in chronological order. The extent of the kingdom, at the time when these monarchs reigned, may be determined by the places where the coins are found. The final dissolution of the Bactrian empire was caused by a people from Tibet, called by the Chinese historians Yue-chi (cf. p. 244).[1] This tribe, in consequence of some com-



FIG. 52. — Silver Tetradrachm of Eucratides.

[1] Biddulph is inclined to recognize the descendants of the Yue-chi in the Yeshkun, who for the most part inhabit Hunza and Nager along a tributary of the Gilgit River, in the Himalaya Mountains, and form no small part of the population of Gilgit, Sai, and other provinces of Northern India.

motion in Central Asia, made its way into Bactria about 130 B.C. The dominant tribe, Kueitshuang, called Kushan by the Persians, extended their empire as far as Sind. As Indo-Scythians they have a place in the history of India. Numerous coins struck by their princes are in existence, and these form almost our only sources of historical information. They are made in imitation of the Graeco-Bactrian coins, at first bearing Greek and Indian legends; they thus record many different dynasties, on whose history there is very little light. Indeed, almost the only important fact that they manifest is that Buddhism, through them, spread from India into Bactria.

Before we consider the history of the Parthians, it will be expedient to advert briefly to the fortunes of western Asia up to the time of the Roman conquest. Antiochus the Great came into collision with the Ptolemies. He was defeated at Raphia, near Gaza; but in 198 B.C. a victory at Phaneas gave him Palestine, which had previously belonged to the Egyptian kingdom. By his interference in the affairs of Greece, he attracted the attention of the Romans. Antiochus was defeated by Scipio Asiaticus at Magnesia, near Mount Sipylus, in 190 B.C., and thus lost nearly the whole of Asia Minor. At this time there seems to have been established in the mountains of Susiana the kingdom of Elymaïs, which immediately took measures to get control of Susa, one of the buttresses of the Seleucid power. Antiochus made an expedition for the purpose of protecting his domain, and was defeated by the inhabitants of Elymaïs, while on his way to plunder the opulent temple of Bel, for the sake of its treasures, with which he intended to pay his tribute to the Romans (186 B.C.).

His son Antiochus IV. (Epiphanes), who mounted the throne after the assassination of his brother Seleucus, and reigned from 176 until 164, also tried to subdue this kingdom, but perished at Gabae near Isfahan, after an attempt to plunder the temple of Artemis. In later times Elymaïs, which had gradually spread over the whole of Susiana, acknowledged the suzerainty of the Parthians, and was incorporated into the Persian empire by the Sassanian Ardashir I. Rawlinson suggests that Baitavend, east of Shuster (Sosirate), is the site of the ruined temple of Bel, and thinks that

the ruins of the temple of Artemis, mentioned above, are to be found at Shushan, on the upper Karun, north of Mal-amir. Antiochus Epiphanes, earlier in his reign, engaged in war with Egypt, which had reconquered Syria. He was successful, but the Romans obliged him to retire from Alexandria. In consequence of his most visionary project of curing the Jews of their superstition, and of introducing Greek culture and customs into "this most despicable race of slaves to be found in the whole realm of Assyrians, Medes, and Persians," "for the purpose of ennobling this utterly detestable people," as Tacitus expresses it, arose the celebrated revolt of the Maccabees. The priest Mattathias took the initiative; and his son, Judas Maccabaeus, defeated the Seleucidae, and restored the ancient worship in the temple of Jerusalem. During the decadence of the Seleucidae, while the Romans were far away, and the Parthians had not yet appeared in western Asia, the Jews for a short time enjoyed independence under the family of the Maccabees, or Hasmoneans. Under John Hyrcanus, who was high priest from 135 B.C. till 106, conquests were made in Peraea and Samaria. There soon followed, however, after the reign of Jannaeus, a cruel tyrant, a war between two brothers. Rome acted as umpire. Pompey captured Jerusalem, entered the temple, where he discovered, to his surprise, that there was nothing in the Holy of Holies. Aristobulus, one of these estimable brothers, was taken prisoner in 63 B.C., and sent to Rome, whereupon the other, Hyrcanus, reigned as priest and king under Roman protection. His political power, however, was greatly curtailed by the influence of the Idumaean Antipater, and afterwards of his son Herod, who shared with him the regency. Herod succeeded in making himself useful to the Romans, but was led to stain his hands with the blood of his own wife and sons. He was appointed by the Roman senate king of Judaea, and in 37 B.C. captured Jerusalem. He died two years after the birth of Christ. The country was divided; Judaea itself was added to the Roman province of Syria, in the year 6 A.D., and had its own governor. The masses, groaning under the oppression of foreign dominion, expected from the Messiah the restoration of the national autonomy; but when they found themselves disappointed, Jesus Christ fell a victim to the rage of the angry multitude, and even Pilate, the

governor, was obliged to sign the death sentence. The tyrannical government of the Roman procurator, Gessius Florus, caused at last a desperate insurrection, which was followed by the conquest and destruction of Jerusalem by Titus, in the year 70 A.D. The magnificent temple which Herod had built was destroyed by fire.

This last temple, in whose halls the Redeemer of mankind was wont to walk, had taken the place of the unassuming structure built by the Jews after their return from the exile. The temple area had already been extended by the Hasmoneans toward the north; under Herod it was built out also toward the south, where the Ophel district lay, over a great space taken from the City of David, or Zion. The walls that Herod built around it are made of colossal blocks of dressed stone. One on the southeast corner is nearly forty feet long, like those in the temple at Baalbec. The lower part of the 'Tower of David,' at the west side of the city, which was not destroyed by Titus, is also constructed of the same masonry; and so are the walls of the so-called grave of Abraham, in Hebron, both of which are works of the Hasmoneans. Over the lower courses of the temple walls are laid huge blocks of undressed stone, and then come smaller ones, and finally the ordinary masonry. Especially imposing is the southeast corner, where fifteen courses of the foundation are still in position. The western wall, now deeply buried by accumulation of rubbish, rose in antiquity to a considerable height. A portion of the southwestern platform overlooks the valley of the Tyropoeum, and accordingly is built up from a much greater depth, the foundation being at least eighty-eight feet below the present level of the ground. Warren discovered a stone pavement of Herod's time lying more than thirty-nine feet below the surface. At the southeast corner the rock is a sheer precipice, and the wall is therefore unusually high. On the same corner Warren found on the rock-bed, at a depth of seventy-nine feet below the present surface, six vases, the handles of which are decorated with the winged solar disk and Phoenician characters. The neighboring wall may possibly date from the ancient Hebrew period. The east side of the wall is also partially buried to a depth of thirty-nine feet in the present soil; and on the northeast corner were placed the foundations of a great tower, with Phoenician characters cut in the stones, so that here

also there seem to be remains of the masonry of the period of the kings. Near the southwest corner are still to be seen great blocks of stone — the remains of the bridge that connected the temple-platform with the city. As early as the time of Solomon there was a bridge in the same spot; and excavations have laid bare a walled canal with the arched stones of the ancient bridge resting upon it. A second bridge was situated farther to the north on the western wall, and led into the upper city. The valley is here considerably filled up, as is proved by the fact that the bridge now lies below the surface. The wall of the temple-platform rests at least fifty feet under the surface, on the bed-rock. The entire platform is riddled with galleries and substructures, which have been made the subject of examination, especially by Wilson and Warren. East of the present mosque of El-Aksa are found cisterns buried forty-two feet in the earth, and supported by huge pillars. They were fed from the so-called Pools of Solomon. Under the cloister of the Sisters of Zion, on the northwest corner of the temple-platform, are deep rock galleries which run toward them. On the edge of the platform Herod built colonnades with a double row of monolithic columns; on the south side these consisted of four rows of the same. On the west side were four gates; on the south, two. In the vicinity of the place where the Jews, on Fridays and on great feast days, weep over the downfall of the city, kissing the stones, and offering up their prayers, lies one of the western gates. The door-cap is more than sixteen feet in length. Another gate on the south side is triple, another is double, and so is also the Golden Gate on the east side, which as late as the time of the Byzantines still retained its adornment, but is now walled up. Passing through the double entrance of the southern gate, one enters a square hall with a central column without socle, with a basket-like capital decorated with the acanthus. The hall is crowned with four low cupolas. In the rear a flight of stairs leads to the ascending corridors, which lead to the temple plaza. Here one came directly into the Porch of the Gentiles; the tablet, containing a warning in Greek forbidding those who were not Jews from drawing nearer, was discovered a few years ago. In the Porch of the Priests an altar for burnt offerings was erected on the rock of Jehovah. The temple-court was entered by a

deep gateway. In its dimensions the temple varied little from its predecessor, but it was very magnificent, and was covered with plates of gold. The temple castle, or Baris, named by Herod Antonia, after his patron Mark Antony, had a tower, and lay at the northwest angle. It was reached by colonnades. Here Titus stood when the temple was burning. The temple buildings as a whole produced the effect of Roman architecture; but the temple itself, which bore no resemblance to the peripteral temples of the heathen, preserved its Asiatic character; the decoration also, which is still visible in the vestibules of the gates, shows a peculiar style in the use of leaves and flowers and geometrical designs. Zion likewise was provided by Herod with a new palace, in which, later, the rulers of the country were wont to reside. The same prince built toward the northwest the Xystus, a plaza surrounded by porticoes. The walls of the old city had sixty towers; those of the northern suburb had fourteen towers. Gardens and villas extended in a northerly direction; and Herod Agrippa was the first to surround this district with walls. Jerusalem was enclosed with a triple wall: the oldest included only Zion and the temple; the second, built by Hezekiah, ran around the lower city, and this was restored after the Exile; the third, finally, was built around the new city Bezetha. The later Roman city Aelia Capitolina excluded Zion and Ophel, which had been included in the older city.

In the Vale of Jehoshaphat are scattered very many ancient memorials, which bear names that for the most part have been referred to very remote periods, but in reality belong to the time with which we are at present occupied. Rock-tombs are excavated in the cliffs of this valley, among them the 'Grave of Jacob,' a vault with a façade of four Ionic columns; moreover, there is the 'Grave of Zachariah, son of Barachias,' which is entirely fashioned from the rock, and consists of a socle, engaged shafts, and a pyramid. Near the southeast angle of the walls is the 'Tomb of Absalom,' likewise a cubical structure, with Ionic pilasters, a Doric frieze, and other Greek features. This monument appears to belong to the last period of the Julian emperors. The same may be said of the still later 'Tomb of the Judges,' which has a façade with a low frontal pediment in barbarian style, and consists of a great

square hall with connecting rooms and a deeply buried grotto, in each of which there are many recesses for graves. More ancient, and really of Jewish origin, are the 'Tombs of the Prophets,' likewise on the Mount of Olives. They consist of galleries in concentric semi-circles enclosing a round room; they recall the latest tombs of Etruria. The 'Tombs of the Kings' are situated northwest of the city, before the Damascus gate. These also, in corrupted Doric style, date from the beginning of the Christian era. The actual tombs of the kings must have been situated on Zion, in the immediate neighborhood of the temple platform. Eleven kings of Judah were there buried.

The kingdom of the Seleucidae had sixteen monarchs after Antiochus, but it enjoyed anything but prosperous fortunes under them. At last, during the reign of Antiochus XIII., it was made by Pompey a Roman province (65 B.C.). Antiochus retained the fertile district of Commagene as a vassal of Rome, and this dependence brought him into collision with Julius Caesar and Mark Antony. Augustus accused him of the assassination of an envoy. He was brought to Rome, and executed in the year 29 B.C.; and the country was transferred to Mithradates, the son of the victim. Commagene, in the year 17 A.D., was added to Syria by Tiberius, but afterwards was granted to another Antiochus, called Epiphanes, who reigned from 38 till 72 A.D. The names of Antiochus and Mithradates after this time appear occasionally among the native dynasties derived in the female line from the Seleucidae, in the male from the Achaemenians. The name of Mithradates is found in the ruins on Mt. Karakush, 'eagle mountain.' Farther to the north, on the Nimrud-Dagh, lies the great mortuary monument discovered some years ago by Puchstein and Sester. The inscription says that it was erected to "Antiochus Epiphanes, Friend of the Greeks and the Romans, Son of the King Mithradates Callinicus and the Queen Laodice Thea Philadelphus, the daughter of the (Syrian) King Antiochus Epiphanes Callinicus." The principal portion of this monument consists of two porticos lying on opposite sides of a gigantic tumulus, and containing statues of Apollo-Mithras-Helios-Hermes, the tutelary goddess Commagene, Zeus-Oromazes, Antiochus, and Artagnes (Verethraghna) Heracles-Ares. On the walls

are reliefs with thirty-two ancestral portraits, among them those of Darius, Xerxes, Sames the founder of Samosata, and others.

Egypt fell to the lot of Alexander's general Ptolemy.[1] His reign was filled with wars with his former colleagues for the consolidation of his power. But he also won renown by beautifying and strengthening Alexandria. His son Ptolemy II., Philadelphus (285–247 B.C.), made inroads upon Ethiopia and Abyssinia, and established himself firmly on the coasts of Phoenicia and Asia Minor. Under Ptolemy III., Euergetes, the son of Philadelphus, who reigned from 247 till 221, Egypt reached the high-water mark of political prosperity; but during the reign of his son, Philopator I. (Ptolemy IV., 221 till 205), it entered upon a decline. In his time the Romans began to interfere in the affairs of the country, and the kings that succeeded him reigned under the direction of Rome. In the year 81 B.C. Sulla established a king, Alexander. Then Pompey and Caesar successively held the reins of power. The latter transferred the crown to Cleopatra and her younger brother, Ptolemy XV. Ptolemy died in the year 44, probably poisoned by his sister. With Cleopatra, whose fabled death by the deadly asp will be remembered, ended the Ptolemaic dynasty, in the year 30 B.C.

In the time of the Ptolemies a few temples were built, which are still in a fair state of preservation. After giving a brief description of them we will take our leave of Egypt. On the Nile, about twenty-six miles below Assuan, lie the ruins of Ombus, called by the Egyptians Nubi, or 'the Golden City.' Overwhelmed by the desert sand, and undermined by the river, they are deeply buried under ground. In the temple, which stands upon a higher level, worship was paid to Sebak-Ra and Horus. This temple was erected by Ptolemy Epiphanes (205–181 B.C.), on the site of an ancient sanctuary of Thothmes III. and Rameses III., whose names can be read on the backs of displaced blocks of stone. The sculptures were not finished until the reign of Neus Dionysus (80–52 B.C.), the father of Cleopatra. The smaller temple, now down by the water's

[1] The kings of Egypt, after the establishment of the Macedonian dynasty, regularly bore the name of Ptolemy. They were distinguished from each other, not only by a succession of numerals, but also by epithets, as appears in the account given above. — Ed.

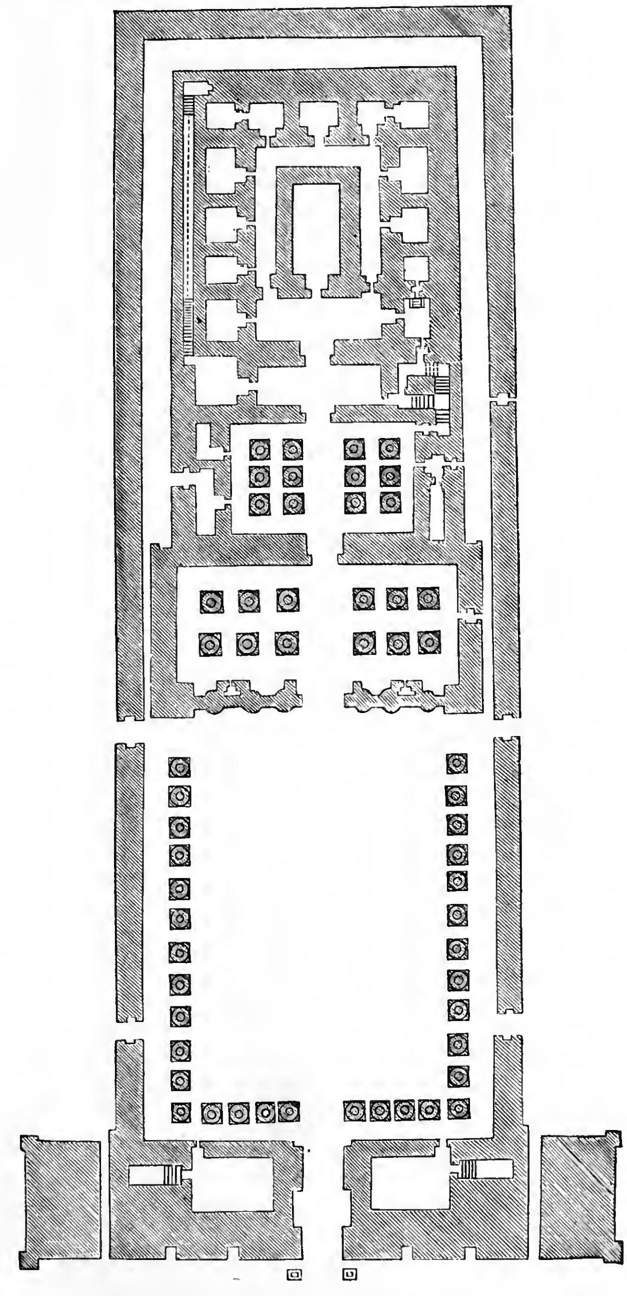


FIG. 53. — Temple of Horus; plan.

edge, is a *mameisi*, wherein the birth of Osiris, the divine son of the hippopotamus goddess Apé, was celebrated. It was erected by Euergetes II. (169–117 B.C.), and Soter, or Lathyrus, who reigned from 117 to 81 B.C. The great temple is noteworthy, because the worship of two gods required in it a double construction. Accordingly the pillars of the front hall stand in three rows of five each. The foremost row has a screen reaching to half the height; and on both sides of the central hall are doorways, so that the cornice shows two solar disks. In like manner the next hall is supported by two rows of five columns each. The columns are thirty-seven feet high and nineteen feet in circumference. The ceiling is painted with vultures with outstretched wings on a blue background. The sanctuary also is cut into two rooms. The capitals of the columns are decorated with a system of small volutes, quite customary in the buildings of the Ptolemies. Parts of the enclosure wall and of two gates at the right of the temple are still extant. The foremost gate, situated opposite the entrance of the smaller temple, and distinguished by the lofty gate-posts, displays the royal cartouches and names of Thothmes III. and Ramaka.

The Temple of Edfu (Apollinopolis Magna, pp. 35, 46), was dedicated to Horus, as the conqueror of Typhon, and is in a perfect state of preservation. The reader will understand the arrangement of the building from the accompanying plan, and from the cut (Figs. 53, 54). The foundation of the temple dates back to remote antiquity; and Nectanebus II. dedicated in the most sacred part a temple, or shrine, consisting of a block of gray granite, which is still in position. The old temple must, therefore, have been standing still in the time of the Ptolemies in good condition, and have been only partially rebuilt or renewed. The new temple was begun in 237 B.C., under Euergetes I.; and the present temple buildings were finished in 142 B.C. The sacrificial court and porch, the first hall, or *Khent*, and the circumjacent wall, were not erected until 57 B.C., under Neus Dionysus. The building is deeply buried in the sand, and the huts of fellahs are built on the roof. Its dimensions are large. The line of axis, drawn from north to south, is 450 feet long. The pylons are 212 feet in width, and 125 feet

high. The columns of the hypostyle are forty feet high, six feet thick, and have a circumference around the abacus of the capital of thirty-seven feet. The architraves are composed of blocks eighteen feet in length. The pylons, once adorned with lofty flagstaffs of acacia, the symbols of Isis and Nephthys, the protectors of Horus,

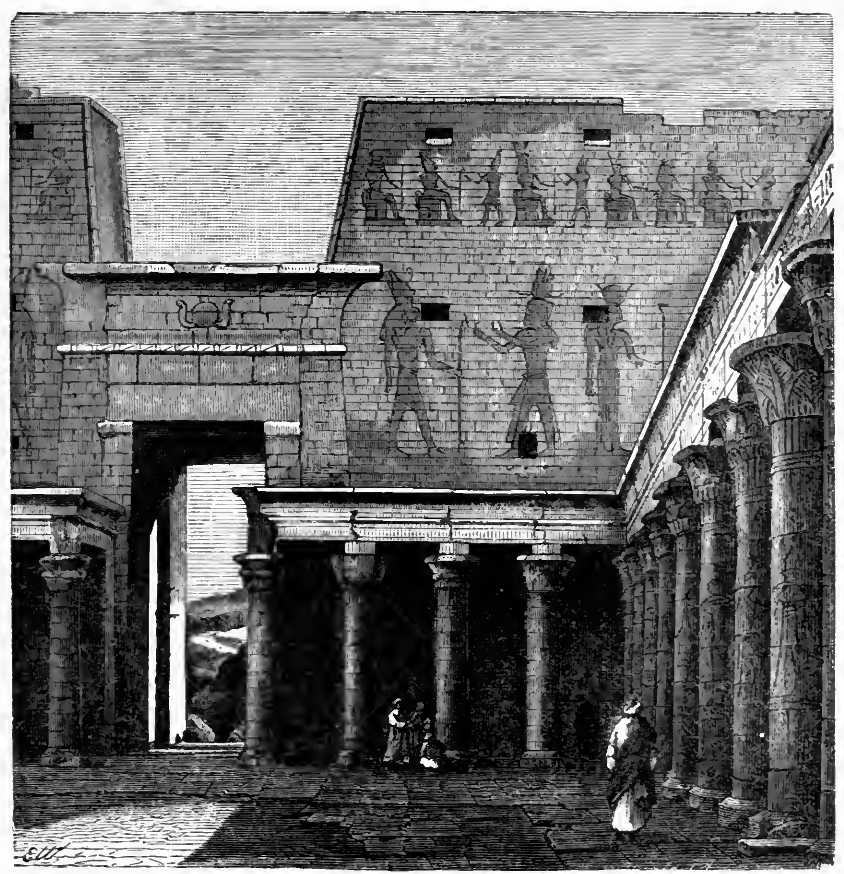


FIG. 54. — The open Vestibule of the Temple at Edfu. View from the interior, toward the rear of the pylons.

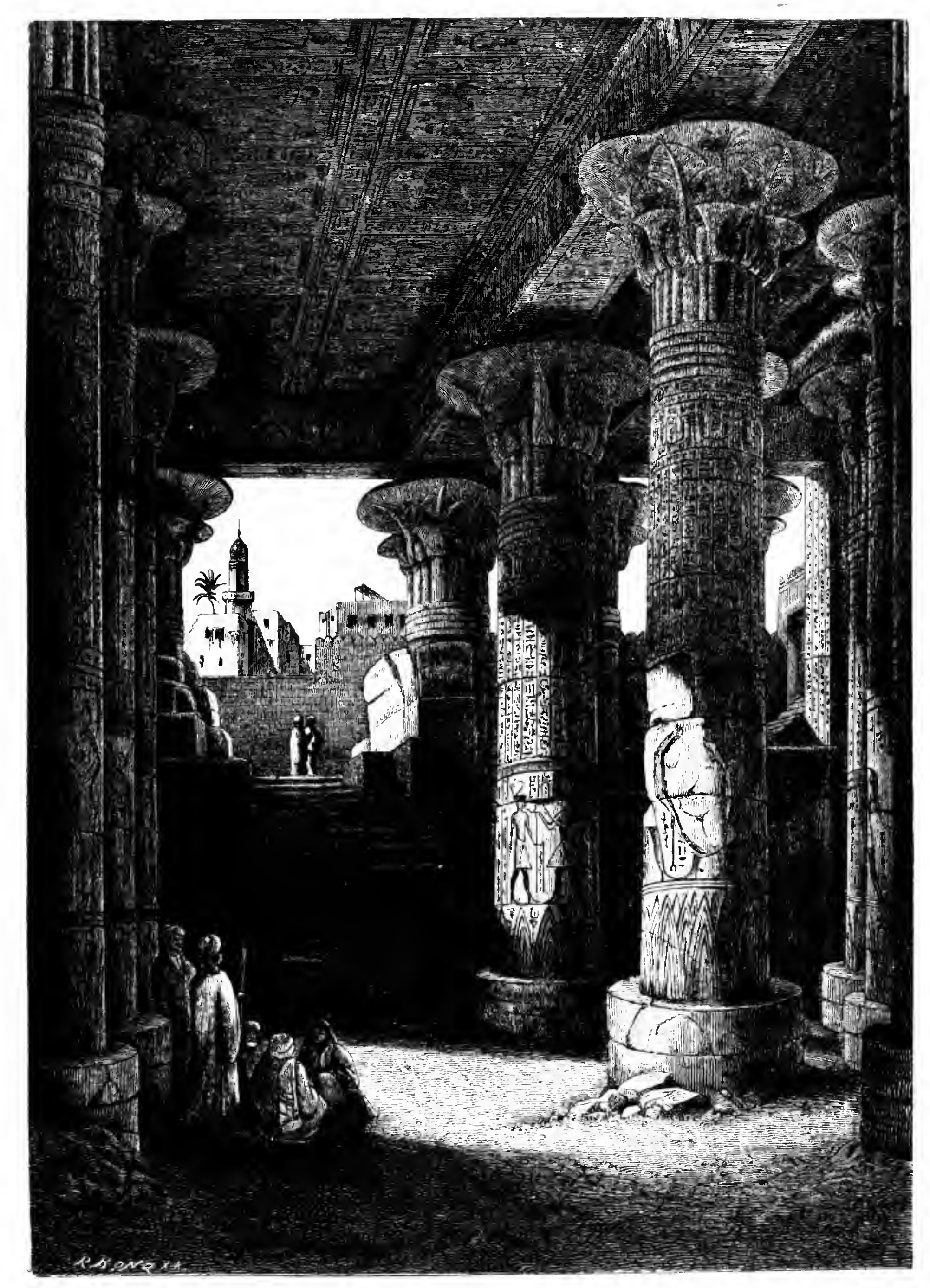
contain the treasuries and the stairways to the roof, which was reached also from the temple kitchen on the side of the second hypostyle. The sacred linen was whitened on the roof. The portal, fifty feet high, had doors of acacia wood decorated with copper. Besides the four gates of the surrounding wall, there is still another, but smaller, on the eastern side, leading into a sub-

terranean spring-house, or *khnumt.* The entire temple is adorned with sculptures. The inscriptions together form an encyclopaedia of religious and secular texts, astronomical and geographical treatises, calendars, genealogies, hymns, diagrams, and mystical invocations, lists of the nomes and tributary lands and princes, catalogues of the real estate belonging to the temple, lists of the priests and priestesses, singers and scribes, and a host of mythological legends.

In the third Egyptian nome lies Latopolis, or Seni, now called Esneh. Here is a temple of the triune divinity, Khnum-Ra, his wife, Nebu, or Neith, and their child, Kahi-ronpe, or 'Kahi the young.' It was built in 165 B.C. by Ptolemy Philometor (181–145 B.C.), and his mother, Cleopatra. On the hypostyle are found the names of Domitian, Trajan, and Decius (249–251 A.D.). The sculptures of the interior, which, with the exception of the hypostyle, lie entirely buried under houses, are in relief. Those on the outside are in hollow relief, which is better able to resist disintegration. The columns are twenty-four in number, arranged in four rows of six each. The front row contains the screen. In the illustration (PLATE XII.), the view is taken from the inside, looking out. The accumulating *débris* of the place has reached the top of the screen, the inner side of which can be seen at the right. Only the upper portion of the door, which is perforated, can be seen against the mass of the central columns. Upon the rubbish which fills the doorway a flight of steps has been fashioned, leading to the hall below. There are in Esneh two other temples, both smaller and far more ruined. They belong to the same period as the larger. In the cella of all three temples the representation of the Zodiac, beginning with Virgo, is used as a decoration.

Very similar to the Temple of Edfu is the Temple of Hathor, or Aphrodite, in Denderah (Figs. 55, 56), which is also perfectly preserved. It is situated within a huge brick enclosure, which has a door on the north side lying in the temple axis. The temple has neither pylon nor vestibule. At the immediate right of the door is situated a small natal temple. According to the architectural record, discovered by Dümichen on the wall of the temple, it stands on the site of an ancient sanctuary built by Thothmes III., in accordance with a plan dating from the time of Pepi, in the Sixth Dynasty.

PLATE XII.



Columns in the Temple at Esneh.

History of All Nations, Vol. II., page 234.

The present structure was begun in the time of Cleopatra, and is adorned with the sculptured portraits of herself and Caesarion, the son whom she bore to Julius Caesar. It was completed in the time of the emperors. The front hall, the façade of which is 126 feet wide, and rises like a pylon above the adjacent rooms, was built by the

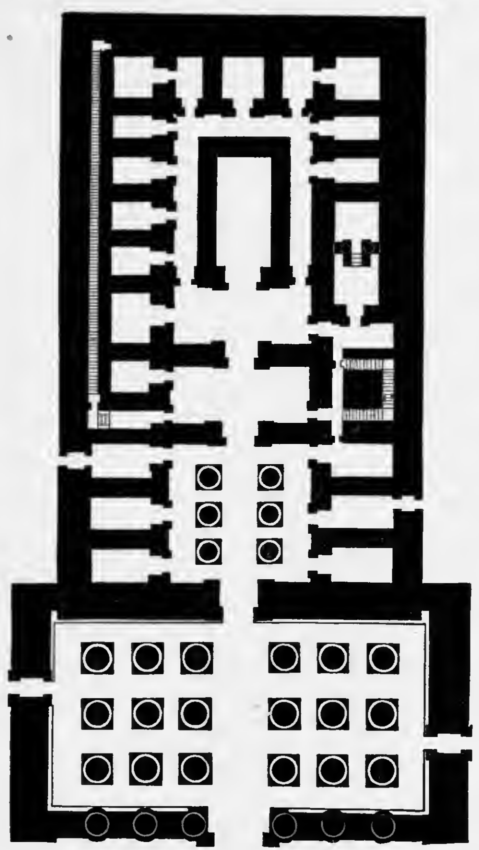


Fig. 55. — Temple of Hathor; plan.

prefect Avillius Flaccus, between 32 and 37 A.D. Its ornamentation belongs to the period between Augustus and Nero. The ceilings are richly painted with rows of winged disks, wide-winged vultures, and astronomical representations, among which the zodiac is especially noticeable. It begins with Leo, at a spot between the western row of columns and the wall, and continues till it reaches the corresponding spot on the east side. The twenty-four columns of the

pronaos have capitals, each with Hathor heads, crowned with peculiar square ornaments like little temples. From the walls of the eastern and western doors of the hypostyle, as well as from several other places, stairs lead down into subterranean chambers (hypogaea), the entrances to which were movable stones. From a room on the east, a covered stairway with gradual ascent leads to the rear wall, where there is an entrance upon the roof. The image of Hathor was

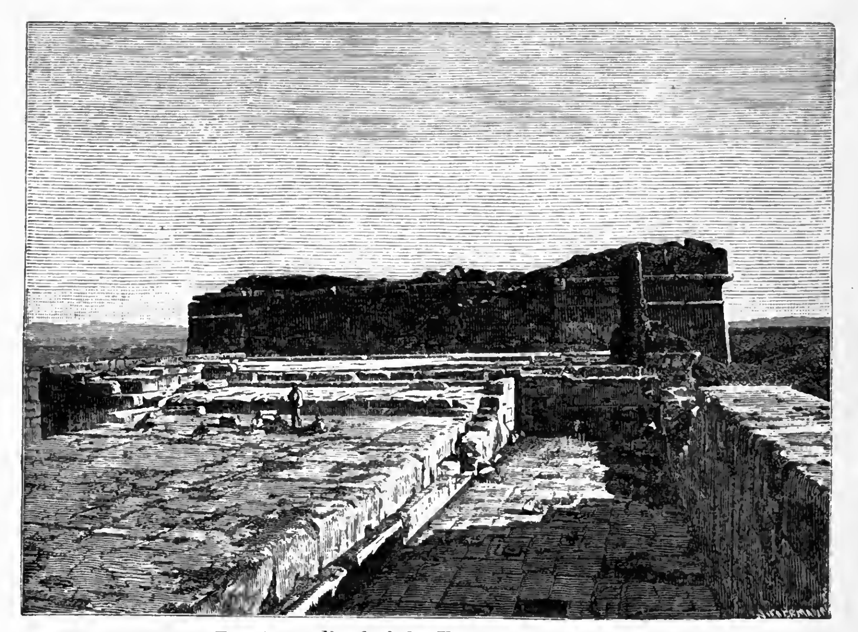
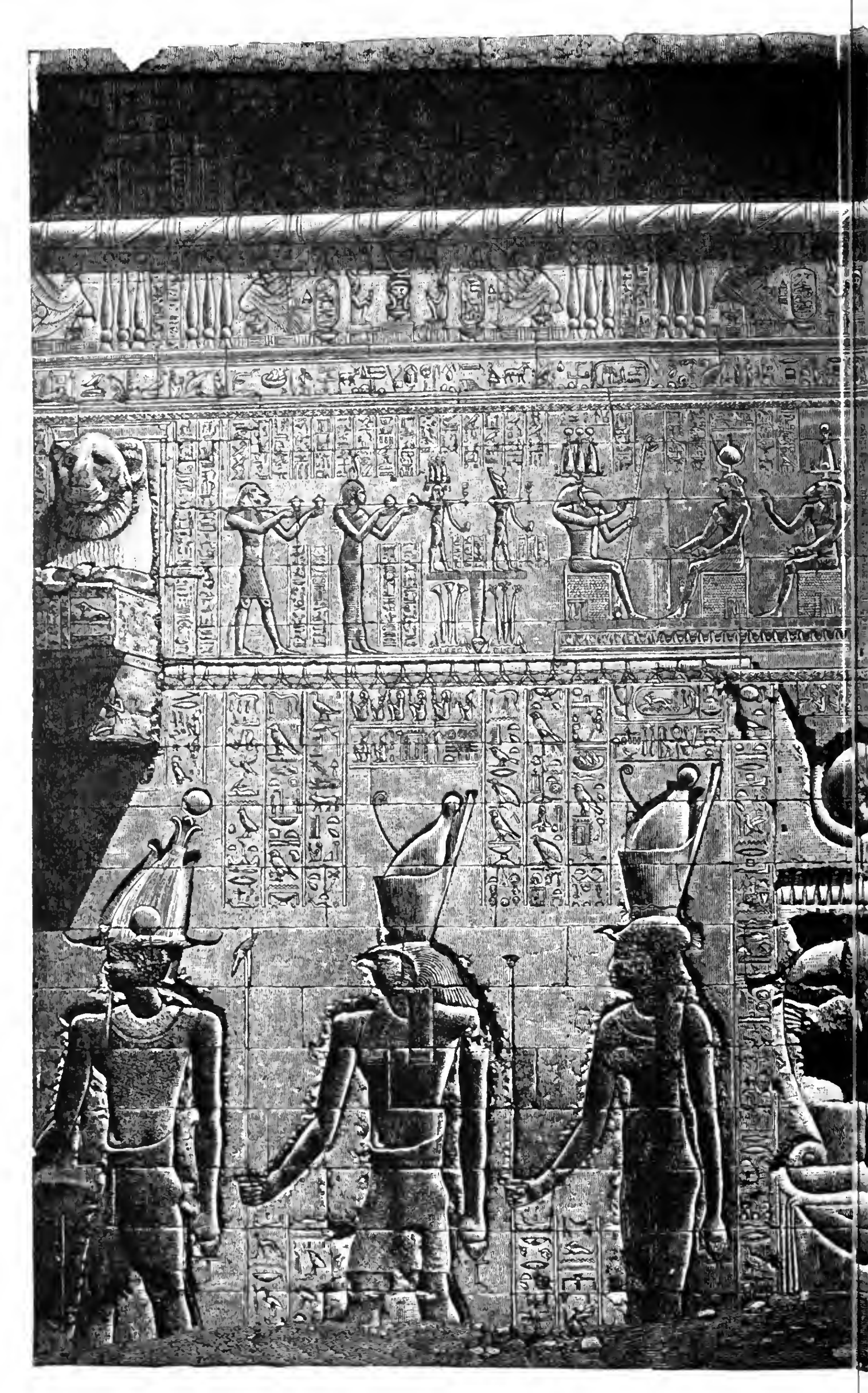


Fig. 56. — Roof of the Temple at Denderah.

brought hither on festival days. By means of a stairway on the rear wall of the hypostyle, which can be seen in the background in the picture of the roof, it was taken to the roof of the hypostyle, and from there exhibited to the people collected before the temple. The return was made by the staircase on the western side. This was lighted by narrow splayed windows. Half way up there is an entrance to a central story, a vestibule, and court extending over the two ground-floor rooms adjoining the staircase. On the ceiling of one of the chambers connected with the stairway was placed the famous zodiacal circle which is now in Paris. The roof is noteworthy in many respects. As can be seen in the cut (Fig. 56), the

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Sculptures on the Southern W



W l of the Temple of Denderah.

ceilings of the central halls are higher than those of the side rooms; at the same time the outer temple wall extends like a parapet around the whole. There is therefore a sunken wall around three sides of the central roof. In the front there was a doorway leading into the chamber of Osiris, the openings of which can be seen in the cut. In the southwestern corner is built an open pavilion, which is not brought into the illustration. It consists of columns with Hathor heads, covered by a continuous architrave, and connected below with the parapet wall. The accompanying double-page illustration (PLATE XIII.) shows in the middle distance a great, but unfortunately very much disfigured, head of Hathor, with the horns of a cow decorating the solar disk. The same device is repeated on a smaller scale under the cornice. On each side the figures of divinities in hollow relief are represented as engaged in a solemn march. Higher up can be seen gargoyles decorated with lions' heads. At the same level are a series of scenes illustrating the adoration of the god; a band of inscriptions relating the history of the building runs just above; and at the very top the cornice-moulding caps the walls with the scotia.

Mention may also be briefly made of the great temple of Isis in Behbit (Pa-hebit, 'the city of joyful assemblage'). It was in the vicinity of Mansura, on the right bank of the Phatnitic branch of the Nile. This temple was erected by Ptolemy II., who reigned from 285 till 247 B.C. The ruins make a colossal heap of *débris*, 400 paces in circumference. The building was composed wholly of gray and red granite; even the steps that led to the roof, a few blocks of which are scattered about, were constructed of the same costly material. The columns, judging by the drums that lie on the ground, were round, and decorated with Hathor-masks. The sacred lake next the village contains water to the present day.

In Asia Minor great confusion followed Alexander's death; but the further fortunes of this country do not strictly belong in the History of the Orient, since the aboriginal nationalities have little prominence, and Hellenistic manners and customs took the place of the primitive culture, which even into earlier stages had been formed upon Grecian models. The peace that followed the battle of Ipsus brought all the country north of the Taurus into the power of Lysi-

machus, whose portion at first had been only Thrace. In Bithynia, the native princes succeeded in holding their own against him, as they had against Alexander; even the Seleucidae and the kings of Pergamus suffered severely in their conflicts with Nicomedes I., who died in 246 B.C., and Prusias II., who died in 145; but Nicomedes III. was twice driven out by Mithradates of Pontus; and in the year 75 B.C. he deeded his country to the Romans, who had protected him from his enemy.

The kingdom of Pergamum, in Mysia, was founded in 283 B.C. by Philetaerus during the disturbances that followed the assassination of Seleucus Nicator. This usurper was the son of a Paphlagonian dancing-girl, and became an official in the service of Lysimachus. He was succeeded in 263 B.C. by his nephew Eumenes I., who enlarged his realm by fortunate conquests. The title of king was first assumed by his successor, Attalus, after the conquest of the Galatians at Sardis. Attalus, who reigned from 241 till 197, was a friend of the Romans and a patron of science and the industrial arts. His son, Eumenes II. (197–159 B.C.), was an ally of Rome in the war against Antiochus III., and after the defeat of the latter was granted the countries formerly in the possession of the Seleucidae north of the Taurus. It was he who founded the famous library at Pergamum, which ranked next to that of Alexandria; in the will of Attalus III. (138–133 B.C.), — which was probably a forgery, — Rome was appointed the heir of his realm. Under the Romans the city remained the capital of the province of Asia. The works of art left by the Pergamene school give a forcible illustration of the immense progress that may be made even in a kingdom that lasted only a century and a half.

The Gauls, Galli, or Galatians, who had been harassing the kingdom of Pergamum, and whose conquest by Attalus is commemorated in the victory of the gods over the giants, sculptured on the Great Altar of Zeus, at Pergamum, made their way in 280 B.C. into Greece and Macedonia, and a portion of them swept through Thrace. This latter division was invited across the Hellespont by Nicomedes I. to help him conquer his brother in his war for the crown. These uncivilized strangers were not willing to take their departure; and it was not until 240 B.C. that Attalus defeated them, and obliged them

to retire into the upland region of Phrygia Major, where their domain on both sides of the ancient military road between Pessinus and Ancyra bore the name of Galatia. At Magnesia they served Antiochus in the capacity of mercenaries; consequently they were attacked and conquered by the Romans. They retained their independence, however, and the Romans even looked with favor on their increase in domain under the two Deiotari and Amyntas. Augustus finally made Galatia a Roman province. In the capital, Ancyra, a temple of Augustus and Rome was built, which is still in a fair state of preservation. On its walls the famous Monumentum Ancyranum is engraven, with its inscription composed by Augustus himself. It enumerates his deeds, and was designed to adorn his mausoleum.

Cappadocia became a Roman province somewhat later than Galatia. In the Macedonian period the northern portion of the land declared its independence, and established the separate kingdom of Pontus. Autonomy here lasted longer than in the southern portion, which in the year 17 B.C., under Tiberius, was made a Roman province. As early as the time of Artaxerxes II. the Armenian satrap Ariobarzanes had made the conquest of many free tribes in Pontus, the descendants of Hittite nations; and when the Persian kingdom went to pieces, he defended the territory thus acquired from the encroachments of the other rulers, and gradually brought under his control the whole seacoast from Bithynia to Colchis. This realm reached the height of its prosperity under Mithradates the Great, who reigned from 120 till 63 B.C. His residence was at Amasia, on the Iris. His conquests extended as far as the Crimea. This king, however, had to yield to Pompey. The land was divided; a part was added to Bithynia; and a part was granted to Galatia, and to a number of native princes, like Polemon, the son of Pharnaces. The eastern part of Polemon's Pontus became duly the dowry of his widow, who was subsequently married by Archelaus[1] of Cappadocia, whereas Polemon's son continued to reign until the year 63

[1] This Archelaus was the grandson and namesake of the prince who in 63 B.C. was named by Pompey high-priest of the Cappadocian goddess of Comana, or Hieropolis. The earlier Archelaus married Berenice, the daughter of Ptolemy Auletes (Neus Dionysus, B.C. 80-52), who had driven her father from the throne in the year 54 B.C.; but he was soon conquered and killed by the proconsul Gabinius, who restored Auletes to his kingdom.

A.D., when he abdicated at Nero's demand. Archelaus was made king of Cappadocia by Antony, who was unable to resist the charms of his mother Glaphyra. Augustus left him in undisturbed possession of his kingdom. At his death, in the year 17 A.D., Cappadocia also was merged in the Roman empire. Karolides found a coin of Archelaus in the ruins of Comana, or Sartere, with the legend *Arglooih visvidi luiōlen* ('of Archelaus, the King Philopator'). The southern lands of Asia Minor shared the fate of the kingdom of the Seleucidae. Cilicia was made a Roman province by Pompey after the war against the pirates; Pamphylia was added to the Roman dominions at the same time with the kingdom of Pergamum. Lycia, which was at first granted by the Romans to the island of Rhodes, regained its independence during the war against Perseus of Macedonia (168 B.C.), whereupon the country reached a state of great prosperity, as is proved by the remains of many ruined cities; nor until the time of the emperor Claudius was it made a province of Rome.

CHAPTER IX.

THE PARTHIAN EMPIRE.

BY the conquest of western Asia the Romans became the neighbors of the Parthians. The first monarchs of the Parthian dynasty were busily occupied in protecting their realm against the pretensions of the Seleucidae and in extending their sway over the Iranian tribes. The Parthians originated in Khorasan, an upland region, lying some three hundred miles east of the southeastern corner of the Caspian Sea. Here, between the present Radekan and the Tchapishlyu, lies the region of Astauene, with the city Arsace, or Aṣhak (now Kapushàn), where the Parthian kings were crowned, and where the eternal fire was constantly burning. It was brought from the fire Adhar-Barzin-Mihr, on the mountain Raiwand north of Nis̱hapur. To the north lies the valley of the Parthians, the present admirably cultivated Derreh-gez; farther to the northwest again lies Nesa, or Nisaya 'the plain,' where, according to the Avesta, Unbelief, or Doubt, holds sway; for in Parthia, with its Greek colonists living in Alexandropolis and its partiality for Hellenistic culture, the laws of Zoroaster were not stringently obeyed. Here in Nesa also the kings of the Parthians were buried. On the other side of the steppe were many nomad tribes, — the Aparni, Xanthii, and Pissuri, who were branches of the Dahae, whose dwelling-place was in the plains east of the Caspian Sea, where the mediaeval geographers mention the city of Dahistan (now Mizriyan). Between Nesa and Derreh-gez lay Gathar (now Jadari) and Sirok (now Anno).



Fig. 57. — Coin-portrait of Arsaces I. (After Mionnet and Visconti.)

Arsaces, the first Parthian king (Fig. 57), died after a reign of two years; and his brother Tiridates subjugated the neighboring region of Hyrcania (Persian Varkana), 'the land of wolves,' now the region of Gurgan, where ac-

cording to the accounts of the geographers the plants of the temperate zone grew side by side with the palm, the pomegranate, the walnut, the citron, and the sugar-cane; the silk spun here was exported far and wide. Alexander's biographers call the capital of Hyrcania Zadracarta, a name which is perpetuated in the present Astrabad; the city of Gurgan lay farther to the east, and was founded by the Arabs. Tiridates strengthened his kingdom by a victory over Seleucus Callinicus; but as the Seleucidae had all that they could do in the western lands, he was allowed to go unpunished. In Apauarcticene, a region abounding in forests and game, on the eastern border of Parthia, touching Siracene, or Sarakhs, on the south, he built a residence called Dara (now Abiverd); since, however, the Parthians were especially drawn to extend their empire toward the west, this city was overshadowed by Hecatompylus, a great city, situated in Comisene, southwest of the present Damghan, where (between Gushek and Frat) there is a field of ruins.

The third Arsaces, Artabanus, conquered a part of Media, including the city Ecbatana. He was defeated by Antiochus the Great; but the result was not permanent, no further attempt being made to put an end to the Parthian kingdom. His son Priapatius was succeeded by his son Arsaces V. (Phraates I., 181–174 B.C.), who conquered the Hyrcanian tribe of the Mardi, and colonized it in Charax. This city is the present Aivan-i-Kaif; he must, therefore, have gained control of the pass of Sirdarrah, or the Caspian Gates, which lies near this city, and controls the road into Media. Some years before his death he seems to have associated with himself on the throne his brother Mithradates I. (174–136 B.C.), a man of lofty nature, under whom the kingdom attained the height of its glory (Fig. 58). After the death of Antiochus Epiphanes, in 164 B.C., he made many campaigns, during which he made Media, the Elymaic kingdom, and Persis tributary to Parthia, and extended his power as far as Babylonia and the boundaries of India. The Seleucid Demetrius, who organized an expedition to put an end to these conquests, was taken prisoner, but was granted his freedom. His marriage with Rhodogune, the daughter of Mithradates, completely reconciled him to the house of Arsaces. He was not, however, permitted to return to his own land. In Armenia, which was likewise

torn from the control of the Seleucidae, Mithradates established his brother Valarsaces as king, whose successors continued to reign over that country, and introduced Persian polity, religion, and customs.

During the reign of Phraates II., Antiochus Sidetes, the brother of Demetrius, determined to try his fortunes against the Parthians. At first he was successful; but finally he was defeated, and killed in a battle. His body was sent back in a silver coffin, and Demetrius, the prisoner, was set at liberty. Phraates established his residence at Seleucia, one of the numerous Grecian cities founded by the Seleucidae in the territory of the Persian empire. This flourishing fortified city was governed by a council elected by the people. It was situated on the right bank of the Tigris, south of Bagdad. In later times Ctesiphon was built on the opposite bank. Phraates employed a great number of warlike nomads as mercenaries; but they did not take part in the battle against Sidetes. When there was some delay in paying them their wages, they began to plunder Parthia. Phraates hastened against them; but some of the soldiers of the Seleucidae, whom he had incorporated into his own army, deserted him, and he was treacherously defeated and killed.



FIG. 58. — Silver Tetradrachm of Arsaces VI. (Mithradates I.) Berlin. (After von Sallet.)

About this period a new kingdom made its appearance in Chaldaea. Phraates had a friend named Himerus, whom he made vicegerent of the empire while he went out against the Scythians. Himerus, after the death of Phraates, laid claim to the throne, and assumed the state of king in Babylon. He was appointed satrap of Babylonia by Mithradates II. He conducted a war against one of the kings of Mesene, a domain lying on the lower waters of the Euphrates. Alexander had founded a city near at hand, on a terrace near the confluence of the Tigris and the Eulaeus, a river of Susa, not far from the Persian Gulf; and this was enlarged by Antiochus III. An Arabian prince named Hyspasines afterwards called the city, after himself, Spasinu-Charax, and established a kingdom that included not only the district Characene, in which the

city lay, but also the neighboring Mesene. This region came under the suzerainty of Phraates II. We know of a long line of rulers whose coins have come down to us. It preserved its autonomy until 389 A.D., when it was incorporated into the kingdom of the Sassanids. In the year 137 B.C., Edessa was made the seat of a kingdom established by Orhoi-bar-Khevye, which outlasted the Persian, and was destroyed by the Arabs in 641 A.D.

It was during the reign of Arsaces VIII. Artabanus (127–124 B.C.), who was an uncle of Phraates, that the incursion of the Tibetan tribe, Yue-chi, took place, followed by the annihilation of the Bactrian kingdom. Artabanus fell in battle while trying to defend his country, and was succeeded by his son, Mithradates II., who engaged in many battles, and warded off the danger. As suzerain



Fig. 59. — Coin of Tigranes. Portrait. (After Mionnet.)



Fig. 60. — Coin of Orodes. Portrait. (After Visconti.)

of the Parthian dynasty in Armenia, he first came into contact with the Romans. When Mithradates of Pontus attempted to conquer Cappadocia, and was supported in this project by Tigranes of Armenia (Fig. 59), Sulla determined to thwart him. He restored Ariobazarnes, who had been deposed, and he repulsed Tigranes. Tigranes found himself between two enemies,—on one hand the Romans, on the other the Parthians, to whom he was obliged to cede a territory that he afterwards recovered. Afterwards Tigranes wrested from the Parthians Gordyene, or Kurdistan, which was ruled by a vassal of the Parthians. He built a great city called Tigranocerta, in which he settled Cappadocians, Cilicians, and Assyrians. It lay in southern Armenia, on the site of the modern Tel-Beyadh, and had walls seventy feet in height. It was destroyed in 69 B.C. by Lucullus; and, though rebuilt, it soon after ceased to exist. While Sulla was on the Euphrates,

he received emissaries from the Parthians, bringing gifts and offers of alliance. In the war of Rome against Mithradates of Pontus (88–85 B.C.), Parthia was approached by both parties for assistance, but only illusory promises were held out. In the year 69 Sanatroeces, the aged brother of Phraates, died, and was succeeded by the twelfth Arsaces, Phraates III. (69–60 B.C.). He aided the Romans in effect by lending support to Tigranes's son, who had been banished from Armenia on account of rebellious conduct. Although Tigranes defeated his son, he was obliged to submit to Pompey, who had meantime deprived Mithradates, king of Pontus, the father-in-law of Tigranes, of all his possessions except those in the Crimea. Phraates asked Pompey to grant him the provinces that had been taken from Armenia. He was allowed to take Adiabbene, or southern Assyria; but Gordyene, which had been conquered from Tigranes, was granted to Ariobazarnes of Cappadocia. In consequence a war arose between Phraates and Tigranes; and as Pompey espoused the cause of the latter, the Parthians were estranged from the Romans. Parthia and Armenia accordingly became reconciled. Tigranes, however, took offence at Pompey's measures, and bore himself in a very haughty manner. Pompey consequently had him seized and taken to Rome. Phraates was assassinated by his sons, Mithradates and Orodes (Fig. 60), who reigned in succession. The former recovered Gordyene, but was deposed by the nobility of the country on account of his tyranny. He was put to death by his brother, who was driven to this measure by a rebellion excited by the exile in Babylon, or Seleucia.

To Orodes belongs the glory of freeing the Parthian empire from a great danger. The newly appointed Roman proconsul in Syria, Crassus, attacked Mesopotamia without the authority of the Senate. At Ichnae, on the lower Belik, he defeated the Parthian satraps, who had small military forces at their command; and in the following winter, carried away by his thirst for gold, he despoiled the temple of Derceto in Hieropolis (Membij) and the temple of Jerusalem of their treasures. In the year 53 B.C., Orodes, with an army of infantry, advanced into Armenia in order to prevent Artavasdes, the successor of Tigranes, whom he suspected,

from assisting the Romans. The Mesopotamian army, composed entirely of cavalry, was commanded by the young Surenas, or general, of the Parthians. Abgarus of Edessa, though supposed by the Romans to be their friend, kept the Parthians informed of the movements of Crassus, and finally went over to them entirely. The Parthian tactics in the battle that followed at Carrhae, or Harran, proved to be superior to the Roman. The light-armed cavalry of the Parthians overwhelmed the Romans with a shower of arrows, against which the legions could make no headway. Publius, the son of Crassus, made a daring cavalry onslaught, but it failed. His whole force was surrounded and destroyed. Then the main body of the Romans was attacked, and actually overridden by the mailed cavalry, who advanced upon them with the solidity of an iron wall. Armed with lances, which were inserted into the trappings of the horses, thus adding a thousand-fold to their efficiency, they dashed upon the enemy, impaling them, and driving them in every direction. The rest of the army fled with the wounded to Carrhae, which they reached after unspeakable sufferings; but on the next day Crassus was overtaken. All attempts at flight were rendered nugatory by the Arabs, and Crassus himself fell in a hand-to-hand conflict. His head was sent to Orodes, in Armenia. The king was present with Artavasdes and his son, Pacorus, who had married the princess of Armenia, at a representation of the "Bacchae" of Euripides; and the actor who took the part of Agave put the head of Crassus, instead of that of Pentheus, on the thyrsus, and spoke these lines: "From the mountains we bring to the palace a branch, freshly cut, a notable prize."

Some time afterwards, Pacorus invaded Syria, where the extortions and iniquities of the Romans had given rise to great disaffection. Thus, for example, Antony, in the year 41 B.C., engaged in a plundering expedition against the opulent commercial city of Palmyra. He did not, to be sure, attain his object, for the inhabitants took their property and fled; but he gave the Parthians occasion to make hostile advances. Pacorus deposed the Judaean king, Hyrcanus, and Antigonus, the last of the Maccabees, retained his throne only as a satrap for the Parthian (39 B.C.). Ventidius, however, the great Roman general, came and defeated the Parthians at the

Syrian Passes. During a second expedition in the following spring, Pacorus was killed in a battle near Gindarus. Orodes, overwhelmed by grief at the death of his heir-apparent, abdicated in favor of his second son, Phraates IV. (37–2 B.C.). Phraates, not being the son of the queen and fearing his right might be disputed, caused the other sons to be put to death. He even had his father strangled, when he expressed his abhorrence at the dastardly deed. When he also began to attack the nobility, Monaeses, a Parthian of high birth, escaped to Antony, and persuaded him to engage in the war whose outcome, if fortunate, was to give him the crown. Artavasdes of Armenia decided to take part in the conflict; and he induced Antony to lead his army against the king of Atropatene, a Parthian vassal, whose name was likewise Artavasdes, and who was a descendant of the Atropates who, after Alexander's death, had established a kingdom in Media. The Median Artavasdes joined forces with Phraates, and compelled Antony to give up the investment of his capital, Phraaspa, and retreat under most trying circumstances. Phraaspa, which lay in northwestern Media, and was one of the places associated with Zoroaster's name, had a strong citadel, Vera, situated on the mountain now called Takht-i-Suleiman. A Sassanian citadel, Takht-i-Balkis, is situated on a more elevated basaltic hill not far away. The sacred fire that burned in the temple of Atropatene was called Adharakhsh. From this, according to report, all the sacred fires of the Persians were kindled. It was claimed that the water of the pond in the mountain of Phraaspa was to serve for the revivification of those who should rise again on the last day, and that the gift of new life was to be granted by the Sosiosh, or Messiah, who would have at his side for assistants a few mortals, among them an Ashavazdah, the son of Porudakhshti, a name identical with that of Artavasdes.

Soon after the repulse of Antony a quarrel arose between Phraates and Artavasdes of Media Atropatene; and the latter entered into correspondence with Antony, who unexpectedly made his appearance, in the spring of the year 34, in Armenia, led captive the Armenian Artavasdes, who had treacherously deserted him during the former campaign, and defeated his son Artaxias, who escaped to the Parthians. Artavasdes of Atropatene gave his

daughter Iotape in marriage to Alexander, the son of Antony and Cleopatra; and Antony returned with rich booty and with his prisoner to Alexandria, where, after the battle of Actium, in 31 B.C., Artavasdes was executed. When the war with Octavian broke out, Artaxias, with the aid of the Parthians, recovered Armenia, and the Median Artavasdes was killed. Thus the former state of things was restored. Nevertheless, the dynasty of Atropates was extinguished. Darius had been obliged to swear allegiance to Pompey. After his grandson Artavasdes II., the son of Ariobarzanes II., who also attained the throne of Armenia, had lost his crown as well as his life (2 B.C.), his children found a welcome in Rome. Among them was another Artavasdes, who prefixed the gentile name of the Emperor Augustus (Julius) to his own name. It is true, however, that Media was afterwards governed by a native dynasty of princes, a few names of whom have come down to us. These princes enjoyed a spiritual supremacy together with their temporal power, as seems to have been the case from very ancient times. At the time of the Arabian conquest they had their capital in Ustunavend, a castle near Demavend, in the province of Rhagae.

Phraates received an Italian slave-woman, named Musa, as a gift from Augustus. This woman succeeded in persuading the king to send his four sons to Rome, where they lived on the scale of princes at the court of Augustus. At the same time Phraataces, the son of the slave-woman, was named as the heir-apparent. The old king was rewarded for ignoring his sons by meeting his death by poison. We have coins of Phraataces showing portraits of himself and Musa, his mother (Fig. 61). It is not surprising that the Parthians overthrew and killed the slave-woman's son (A.D. 4). A certain Orodes was chosen as his successor, but he also was deposed and put to death; whereupon Vonones I., one of the princes living in Rome, was summoned to the throne. But his reign was not of long duration; his Roman customs were detestable to the Parthians, and he was banished. A Median prince, Artabanus III., was invited to mount the throne; and Vonones was induced



FIG. 61.—Phraataces and Musa, his mother. (After Mionnet.)

to accept the throne of Armenia, which was vacant at that time. From here, however, also he was compelled to escape on account of the menaces of the Parthians; and he took refuge in Syria, where, through Artabanus's machinations, he was assassinated in the year 19 A.D. Zeno, the son of Polemon of Pontus, was raised to the throne under the name of Artaxias, by the instrumentality of Germanicus, although against the will of Artabanus, who had ambitious designs for one of his own sons, which he was unable to realize until after Artaxias's death, in 34 A.D., when he procured the kingdom for his son Arsaces. Phraates, the second of the princes living in Rome, died just as he was about to lay claim to the throne, at the instigation of Tiberius. The scheme, however, was carried out by Tiridates, the son of Seraspadanes, the third brother. As Artabanus manifested his hostility to this occupation of the Armenian throne, Pharasmanes of Georgia was sent into Armenia. Arsaces was killed; and Mithradates, a brother of the Georgian, was made king. Artabanus himself was expelled by the disaffected nobility, and Tiridates was actually crowned in Ctesiphon. But soon after he was again deposed; and Artabanus was recalled, and reigned until his death in 41. One of the sons of Artabanus was put out of the way. The other two, Vardanes and Gotarzes, engaged in civil war for the succession, which fell to the former; but he reigned only until the year 46. Nothing of importance occurred during the reign of Gotarzes except his victory over Meherdates, the son of Vonones, and grandson of Phraates IV., whom the Parthians had begged the Romans to give them as king. This victory seems to be indicated in one of the few Parthian sculptures. Rudely executed near the base of Mount Behistun, it represents a horseman with a lance, and crowned by a winged Nike with a wreath. The names of Gotarzes and Mithradates, chiselled in Greek, are now nearly obliterated, together with the relief, by a worthless modern Persian inscription. After the death of Gotarzes (50 A.D.) a Median prince, Vonones II., reigned a few months. He had three sons, Vologeses, Pacorus, and Tiridates. The eldest mounted the throne; the second received Atropatene; and the third, Tiridates, a Magian, or priest of Zoroaster, mastered Armenia after a long struggle. The emphasis with which the Parthians claimed suzerainty over this

land caused the Romans, on their part, to lay claim to this right. Tiridates was defeated by Corbulo, and the capital, Artaxata, was destroyed; but afterwards Vologeses defeated the Romans at Arsamosata, and brought about the restoration of his brother, who was in turn succeeded by Exedares, the son of Pacorus, and grandson of Vardanes. The Parthian coins apparently indicate that many other kings bore the name of Vologeses, judging by the variety of the royal portraits displayed upon them. The Roman authors mention another Artabanus, who reigned in the year 79; and coins with Aramaic legends commemorate a Mithradates, who was king at a period between 107 and 113. It is possible that he was a rival king in the western provinces. It was evident that the Parthian kingdom was undergoing dissolution. It is related of Pacorus, the son of Vardanes, who reigned from 78 till 108, that he was the friend of Decebalus of Dacia, an enemy of the Romans. It is a noteworthy fact that we have a contract tablet of the time of Pacorus bearing a cuneiform inscription, with the date of the year 81. It is the latest specimen known. It is now in Zurich, and has been deciphered by Oppert and Sayce. After the death of Pacorus, the Mithradates, who was just mentioned, and Sanatruk hold a place in history, apparently as rival kings in the Parthian provinces. The real king was Chosroes, whose reign lasted from 112 till 127. Trajan took advantage of the weakness of the kingdom, and came to Asia for the ostensible purpose of regulating the affairs of Armenia. Exedares of Armenia, who has already been mentioned, had trifled away the good will of the Romans; and Chosroes declared that he was prepared to see Exedares's brother Parthamasiris accept the crown from Trajan's hand. With this intent the Arsacid appeared before the emperor in Elegea (now Ilija, west of Erzerum); but Trajan rejected him scornfully, threw him into prison, and put him to death. In northern Mesopotamia, Trajan conquered Batnae, Singara, Nisibis, and finally Assyria; but he failed to capture Hatra, an Arabian prince's stronghold (Fig. 62), the ruins of which, surrounded by a wall ten feet thick, with bastions, are still visible in the midst of a plain southeast of Sinjar. The ruins, however, apparently date from the later period of the Parthians. Trajan left Hatra unsubdued, and marched against Babylon, and thence across the Tigris

to Ctesiphon, the home of the Parthian rulers. Attambil of Mesene also recognized his authority. In the mean time the subjugated states again threw off their allegiance, and the Roman generals were obliged to make the conquest for a second time. Trajan found it expedient to establish Parthamaspates, a son of Exedares, as ruler in Ctesiphon; in the following spring he was expelled by Chosroes. During a second siege of Hatra, Trajan was taken sick with an inflammation of the bowels, and died at Selinus, in Cilicia, on the eighth of August, 117.

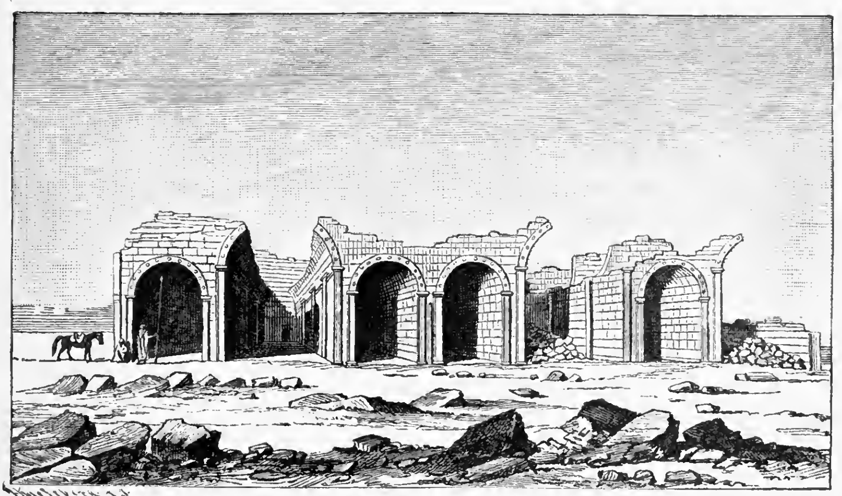


FIG. 62. — Hatra. (After Ross and Rawlinson.)

The coins prove that between 130 and 148 there was a Vologeses II., followed by a Vologeses III. (148–191), who restored the Parthian control in Armenia, and gained a number of important victories over the Roman armies. The Romans, however, made renewed exertions; and Lucius Verus, with a picked army, succeeded in conquering all Mesopotamia as far as the Tigris. He captured Ctesiphon, and destroyed the palace. On the homeward march a pestilence broke out among the Romans, and nearly annihilated the whole host. It was also carried to Italy, where, in 165, it carried off a frightful number of victims. Afterwards, when the contest arose between Pescennius Niger and Severus for the imperial crown, Barsemius, the Arabian prince of Hatra, supported by Volo-

geses IV. (190–208), took the side of the former; and Severus, after he had vanquished his oppcnent, penetrated into Armenia, and once more brought this region into subjection to Rome. Nisibis was raised to the dignity of a colony and the capital of the Roman possessions. The appeaiance of Vologeses again brought Severus to the spot; and once more the clang of the Roman arms echoed in the Parthian capital, which was plundered and destroyed, and deprived of its inhabitants. The city of Hatra this time also successfully resisted the Romans. After the death of Vologeses, his sons, Vologeses V. and Artabanus IV., engaged in a civil war for the succession. At first they seem to have reigned simultaneously, the one in the east, the other in the provinces bordering on the Roman empire. Artabanus triumphed over the Romans. Caracalla, greedy of the fame of being a conqueror of the Persians, ravaged Assyria, and made preparations for a great expedition of conquest. After he was assassinated by Macrinus, on the eighth of April, 217, Artabanus demanded satisfaction; and twice in succession a bloody battle took place at Nibisis, after which the Romans were constrained to purchase a disgraceful peace at a heavy cost. The Parthian influence was now restored in Armenia, and the Arsacidae reigned here still for several centuries. In Mesopotamia, which Artabanus again joined to his kingdom, an Arabian kingdom had been formed in Hira, between the Euphrates and the desert. This, during the time of the first Sassanians, accepted the suzerainty of Persia, and proved very useful as a bulwark for the kingdom against the Arabians of the desert: when it was afterwards destroyed by the Sassanians, the Persian governors were no longer able to prevent their incursions.

The Parthian empire lasted for 474 years; even after many fearful wars and insurrections, and in spite of repeated reverses at the hands of the Romans, it maintained itself at the end victorious, and in possession of the countries which belonged outside of the circle of Graeco-Roman civilization.

CHAPTER X.

THE EMPIRE OF THE SASSANIANS.

IN the various countries of Iran and of Hither Asia native princes had held sway since the time of Alexander. For the most part their titles had been changed from king to satrap, but in some instances the princes had been recognized in their dignities as vassals of the 'King of Kings.' Among the Persians the remembrance of their universal dominion had not yet faded away. The princes of the province of Pars (Persis), residing in Istakhr, had the proofs of a mighty past constantly before their eyes in the remains of the Achaemenian capital; and the tradition of the ancient kings, embellished by poetry, was kept alive by the bards. It was, therefore, only the repetition of a frequently occurring but not always successful endeavor, when the prince of Persis threw off the feudal yoke of the Parthians, and assumed for himself the title of 'King of Kings.' A long list of the princes who held sway in Persis during the Parthian period we know by their coins, which for many years have stimulated the acumen of numismatists, and yet only certain classes of names have been interpreted with any certainty. The most common coin is the tetradrachm; drachmas are infrequent; with the Parthians, on the other hand, drachmas are the first to make their appearance. The standard is the Attic standard of Alexander. The legends are in the most ancient dialect of the Pahlavi,— that is, in the Parthian script, which is based upon the Aramaic alphabet,— and the characters bear very close resemblance to those of Palmyrene. These coins also seem to prove the early use of the Semitic writing in the remote districts of Iran, a fact that would have been otherwise rendered doubtful by the appearance of Greek legends on the coins of the Parthians. Mordtmann believes that he can trace one of the most ancient series of these coins back to a period when Arsaces VI. (Mithradates I.)

was extending the Parthian supremacy over Persis. The second series differs from the first by having the expression for 'king' substituted for that of 'prince'. Finally, the third series shows the Parthian type; but the head of the royal effigy is turned to the left, while in both the other series it shows the right side of the face. The latter position is generally, though not always, the characteristic of the viceroy, or satrap. The latest of the coins are identical with those of the first Sassanians. Nevertheless, it is altogether likely that in these effigies we have before us the dynasties of different regions, and that only the first series contains the kings of the house of Bazarang, which reigned in Istakhr. The accompanying cut represents a coin of the oldest series (Fig. 63). The prince wears the same tiara as that of King Darius Codomannus, and as it is represented on count-



Fig. 63. — Coins of Persepolis. (After Mordtmann.)

less ancient pictures of Parthian princes. On the reverse the king is standing with his bow in his left hand, exactly as Darius and the other Achaemenians are represented on the façades of their tombs, in the act of worship before the sacred fire. The fire-tower is a faithful copy of the tower opposite the tombs of Naksh-i-Rustam, even to the reproduction of the denticulated frieze, so that therefore all conjectures as to the original destination of this tower and its counterpart in Pasargadae are rendered unnecessary. Above the fire hovers Ahura Mazda; at one side of the fire-temple is the royal banner, the staff fixed in the ground. It represented the leathern apron of the smith Kaveh, who saved the Persians from the tyranny of Dahak, and was called Dirafsh-i-Kaviyan. The badly printed legend, found more distinct on other specimens, gives a hitherto unfamiliar name, "Patokraz, prince, son of God." These princes, as well as the Sassanians, claimed divine origin.

Artakhshatr (Artaxares), in modern Persian Ardashir (A.D. 226–241), was the son of King Papak of Khir, on the shore of the lake of Nairiz, near Persepolis. His grandfather was named Sasan, and hence arose the title of the dynasty. Sasan's wife is supposed to have sprung from the tribe of Bazarang, which at that time was dominant in Istakhr. To the same family Patokraz belonged. Ardashir now put an end to the petty principalities of Persis and exterminated their rulers. Among them Tabari mentions Darayu, or Darius, and Manochihr, whose names are actually found on coins. Papak, Ardashir's father, slew the prince Gaochithra of Istakhr, who resided in Baidha ('the white castle'), and transferred his dignities to his elder son Shahpuhr, or Sapor. A war now broke out between the two brothers; but before a battle took place, Sapor, who was on his way against his brother, was crushed to death by a falling arch. In all probability Ardashir was responsible for Sapor's death, for he killed several others of his brothers according to the custom. Then he marched against Kirman, where Vologeses, the brother of the Parthian king, reigned in the city of Vologesocerta (now Gulashkerd). Ardashir put him to death, and in like manner made way with the Parthian vassals in Ispahan, Susiana, Mesene, and others in the south of Persis. At last he engaged in battle with the Parthian Artabanus on the Susan plain. The kings engaged in a personal combat; and Ardashir killed Artabanus with his mace, and set his foot on the fallen foe. This was in 226 A.D. The triumph over Artabanus and his brother Vologeses is represented in the great relief under the royal tombs of Naksh-i-Rustam (Fig. 64). Ardashir, on horseback, receives from Ahura Mazda, likewise mounted, the ring of sovereignty. The god wears a machicolated crown, and bears in his left hand a club. Ardashir has on his head a round helmet surmounted by a balloon-like ornament, apparently meant to represent silk. Broad bands flow down from their necks. Lying prone under the horses' feet are Artabanus, with the Parthian nail-studded crown of pearls, and his brother with a diadem. The inscriptions, carved on the withers of the horses, are composed in the West- or Chaldaeo-Pahlavi dialect, in Greek, and in the Eastern or Sassanian Pahlavi. They run: "This is the picture of the Mazda-worshipping divine Artakhshatr, the King of Kings of Airan,

of divine descent, son of the divine Papak the king." On the god's horse are the words: "This is the picture of the god Ahura Mazda." The designation of the monarch as divine corresponds to the Oriental idea of the lofty rank of kings, and is met with not only in Egypt, but also occasionally on the coins of the Parthians; taking pattern after the Seleucidae, whose kings were called Theos and Theopator. The deification of the Roman Caesars likewise appealed to the imagination of the Sassanians, as is shown by a few works of art of their time, on which is represented the rape of



Fig. 64. — **Ahura Mazda giving Ardashir the ring of sovereignty. (After Texier.)**

Ganymede by the eagle, signifying the apotheosis of the king or his elevation to the rank of the immortals. Sometimes the eagle is replaced by the cherub whereon the king rides. A triumphal scene of this character is represented in the ruins of Gur (Firuzabad). This city was a new creation of Ardashir in a swampy region which he caused to be drained. The old city, if the Persians are to be believed, was destroyed by Alexander. It lay about midway between Persepolis and the Persian Gulf, in a southwesterly direction. Gur, like most Sassanian cities, had four gates at the terminations of the four principal streets which cut each other at right angles. They were called the gates of Ormazd, of Mithra, of

Verethraghna (Heracles), and of Ardashir. In the centre of the city Ardashir built the *tarbal*, or 'tower,' on the platform of which stood a fire-temple. A terrace, apparently Sassanian, seventy feet long by sixty wide, still stands, and contains a tower about ninety feet high, which tapers somewhat toward the top, and shows traces of a steep staircase climbing the exterior. Fragments also of fluted columns used to be found in abundance. The neighboring inhabitants call the terrace Atashgah, 'house of fire.' A second terrace, of far greater extent, is mounted by stairways on the four sides. The masonry, as at Persepolis, is solidified with clamps. This great pile of masonry is also called Atashgah. Not far from a spring on the mountain, east of the city, lies the Sassanian palace. At various other places in the neighborhood of Gur are to be found Sassanian ruins. Ardashir called his reconstructed city Gur Ardashir-khurrah, 'glory of Ardashir.' Its present name dates back to the tenth century. The province which was named after the city comprised many cities, as well as the islands of Lafet, Uval, and Kharek.

The sculptures of the Sassanians fail of attaining the ancient Persian excellence. The drapery of the silken robes has too great multiplicity of folds, and destroys the outline of the body; especially inartistic are the silken trousers, which cling to the leg with a host of diagonal folds. Silk was brought at that period by the Chinese, by the sea-route to Ceylon, and was thence imported to Persia. In the fifth century Chinese junks sailed directly to Hirah; but after the eighth century the trade was confined once more to Ceylon, whither the Persians and Arabians were in the habit of making voyages. The endeavor to introduce life into the representation led to an unnecessary multiplication of figures without action. The horses have an elephantine character, and are far behind the noble steeds represented at Persepolis. Yet there are a few reliefs, as, for example, the two tourneys under the Tomb of Darius, that show great power and animation. The sculptures are without exception the work of Persian artists. The inscriptions are sorely weather-worn and damaged, which is greatly to be lamented, because several of them apparently contain much explanatory historical information; this is the case with the inscription on the fire-temple at Pā-i-Kuli, near Zohab, north of Khanikin, of which only fragments are known.

In Sassanian architecture, Graeco-Roman elements are noticeable. Certain monuments, as, for example, that of Tak-i-Bostan, are direct imitations of Roman works; likewise the construction of the palace of Khvarnak in Hirah is ascribed to a Roman or Byzantine architect with the Babylonian name of Sinimmar. Here the Parthians had set the example, as can be seen by the temple of Artemis at Konkobar, which, to judge from its style, must belong to the time of Phraates IV. Along side of these exotic works of Roman architects, there are memorials which betray indigenous art in their Asiatic forms, cupolas, and ancient Persian door-frames. In this category belongs the palace at Firuzabad (Figs. 65, 66), which was perhaps erected in the fifth century, on the site of the one built by Ardashir. Here we find the ancient Persian doors and window-frames with subordinated round arches, while domes and half-domes are built in ovulate form. This form of construction, with domes on pendentives, had been in common use in Asia since the Assyrian period. Many of the dwelling-houses of the Persians are crowned with clay domes, and the absence of the arch in Persepolis goes with other things to prove the Grecian origin of the royal buildings at that place. The oval arch, the precursor of the pointed arch, both of which are found at Khorsabad, is also to be seen in Sarbistan (Fig. 67), between Shiraz and Pasa. The horse-shoe arch occurs in the same buildings, as well as in the Tak-Girrah in the Zagros Pass, and later also in Armenian and Mesopotamian churches, dating from a period anterior to Islamism. As early as the Parthian period, the Persians practised the Assyrian art of surface decoration, with glazed tiles decorated in geometrical figures and leaf-work, as

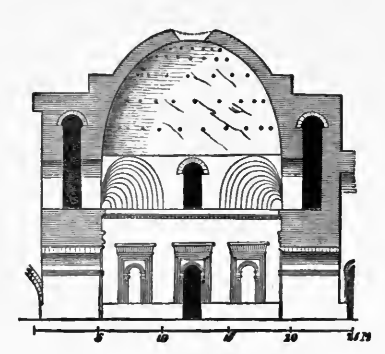


Fig. 65. — Palace of Firuzabad.

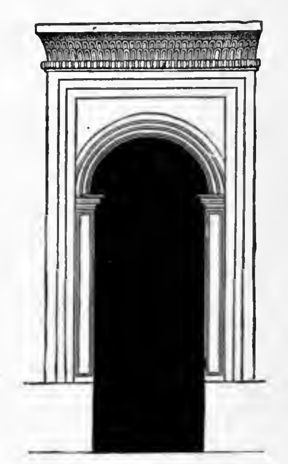


Fig. 66. — Portal of the Palace of Firuzabad.

is proved by fragments at Warka; this they transmitted to the Arabs, who brought it to Egypt and Spain. The use of majolica came to Italy by another route, from Pitzunda in Abkhasia and Erivan to Pisa, where it was first employed in the thirteenth century in the church of Saint Cecilia. Likewise the primitive Chaldaic decoration of walls with sunken panels was evolved into an arrangement of pilasters spanned by an arch. This motive is met with again in the Byzantine church at Ani in Armenia as well as in Firuzabad.

Ardashir, 'the King of Kings', had the unprecedented good fortune of subjugating almost all the Parthian countries. Only in a few regions of difficult approach Parthian families still maintained their supremacy, as, for instance, the Aspahapet in Tabaristan, whose sway was destined to outlive that of the Sassanians. King

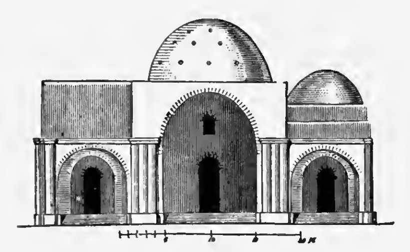


Fig. 67. — Façade at Sarbistan. (After Flandin and Coste.)



Fig. 68. — Silver coin of Ardashir and his father Papak. (After Thomas.)

Chosroes of Armenia endeavored to unite in one common scheme of defence all the princes who were as yet unsubdued; but he was assassinated, while hunting, by Anak, an Arsacid, who had been promised the city of Bactra. Nevertheless, the latter, after he had accomplished the crime, was taken prisoner, and put to death with his whole family, save one son, who was brought up in Caesarea in the Christian faith and afterwards, under the title of Gregory the Enlightener, converted Armenia. His descendants were patriarchs of Armenia and enemies of the Sassanians. The subjugation of Armenia by Ardashir is immortalized in a sculptured relief at Salmas, northwest of the Lake of Urumiah; in this two Armenians stand near Ardashir and his son Sapor, who are on horseback.

We possess a silver coin with Ardashir represented on one side, and his father, Papak, on the other (Fig. 68). The Pahlavi legend

reads: 'Artakhshatr the King,' and is continued on the reverse, 'Son of the divine Papak the King.' Other coins show only his own portrait, and on the reverse a fire-altar. As we have seen a fire-altar also on the coins of Patokraz, it seems that the Persian national customs and the ancient religion were cultivated in Persis, while the Parthians were inclined toward Hellenism, as is manifested on their coins; these bear Greek legends, and on the reverse an Apollo or Heracles, generally, by means of the Parthian dress of course, metamorphosed into the image of the founder of the dynasty. The principal characteristic of the Sassanian period is the introduction of the strict doctrine of Zoroaster into all parts of the kingdom.

Many cities were founded, or embellished with palaces, by Ardashir. Thus he rebuilt the city of Suk-al-Ahwaz, 'market of Susiana,' Karakh Maishan, or Charax Spasinu, in the neighborhood of Basrah, and Veh-Ardashir, opposite Ctesiphon. The seven cities which here lay close together on the two banks of the Tigris, were collectively called, by the Arabs, Al-Madain, 'the cities.' The most extensive was Ctesiphon (Aspanpur), originally a Parthian camping-ground, out of which the city grew; it was much enlarged by Pacorus (78–108). Here stood the White Castle, which was completed by Chosroes Parvez, but was afterward dismantled in order to furnish stone for the palace of the califs of Bagdad at the beginning of the tenth century. Ruins of the city walls thirty feet in thickness still remain. On the same bank of the Tigris with Seleucia, which was connected with the eastern bank by a stone bridge, lay the city of Ardashir, which was the last to become depopulated; farther to the west was Sarsar. The others, Hanbu-Shapur, Darzanidan, Nuniabad, Kurdabad, and Veh-jundiv-Khosro, or in other words, Antiochia of Chosroes, were destroyed early in the Arabian occupation, and Bagdad was constructed from the material. The last of these cities was built on the King's Canal, which emptied into the Tigris not far from Al-Madain, and was here crossed by a stone bridge. The city was also called Vologesia or Balash-farr, or Rumiya, having been built on the plan of the Roman city of Antioch, and especially because it was designated in 540 by Chosroes Nushirvan as the residence of Roman prisoners. Ardashir has also the credit of being the

founder of the city of Kirman. Mediaeval geographers call Sharjan (to-day Saïdabad) the capital of Kirman; the city of Ardashir was called Veh-Ardashir, which the Arabians made into Bardesir; yet there is a legend that Kai Gushtasp erected a fire-temple there, which is equivalent to saying that the city was in existence in the time of the Achaemenians. In the Karnamak, and according to the poet Firdusi, Kirman was the home of a marvellous worm, called in Persian the *kirm hastvad.* This has reference to the introduction of the silk industry.

In the state polity no change was made. The high nobility, the 'sons of the houses' (the Vespur, 'the seven next the throne') held a dignity which we have seen existed in the time of Darius; and this was continued during the period of the Parthians and Sassanians, though it is not necessary to conclude that it was retained exclusively throughout in the possession of the same families. At the beginning of the Sassanian era many Parthian families received this position: the Karen lived in the region of Nehavend in Media; in Sacastene, dwelt the Suren, Firdusi's Royal Pahlavans, who had the honor of crowning the king; from this distinguished race arose the heroes Sam, Zal, and Rustam, and the conqueror of Crassus. The Ispendiar dwelt in Rhagae; a fourth family had their seat in Hyrcania; the Mihran constituted a fifth, from which sprang the usurper Bahram Chobin. These families constituted a race of nobles who had great landed possessions, and were regarded as princes. The possession of land gave the rank to the other orders of nobility. There were the grandees, called Megistanes, or Buzurgan, and a third order, the 'free-born' (Azatan). As the latter order was very numerous, and included the 'knights' (Asvar), who had a thorough knowledge of local administration, and carried the burden of historical tradition, it may be said to have practically constituted the essential part of the Persian people. The Dihkans, who were in many cases, to be sure, only the owners of great farms, were consulted by the Arab conquerors in regard to the organization of the government, and were the repositories of the history and traditions of antiquity. Istakhri, a Persian geographer of the tenth century of our era, says that there were in Persis more than five thousand castles among the mountains and

in and near the cities, and many of these had never been captured. Among the Parthians there was a Senate formed of members of the highest classes, together with Sages and Magi; that is, a council of priests and nobles. The religious orders, headed by the chief Mobed, (Magupatan Magupat), attained great influence among the Sassanians. The king was chosen from the select circle of this spiritual court; yet the king had the prerogative of naming his successor, and kings were even deposed without the consent of this council. The standing army was limited to the king's body-guard and the garrisons of the fortresses under chiliarchs; the great body of warriors was composed of the *arrière ban* of the nobles, who also formed the 'iron cavalry,' the flower of the army. The geographers, however, mention the military districts, or Ramm, which existed in Persis, and were not subordinated to the local administration. These supported bodies of troops who in their mode of life were like Kurds and Bedouins, and preserved the security of the highways over which caravans were wont to pass; the Angars, or Astands, carried official despatches, like the Ghulam of the present day, finding at intervals fresh relays of horses. The destruction of the Ramm by the Tatars put an end to the military prowess of Persia.

The geographers, who, on the whole, describe things as they existed under the Sassanians, mention various divisions of the provinces and satrapies. Persis, for example, was divided into five *kurrahs*,[1] or circuits, each consisting of several cantons, with a common capital. These were subdivided into districts called *rostak*, or, in the western provinces, *tassuj*, cultivated territories, with villages or small cities. The province was governed by prefects, or *marzpanes*, just as in former days it had been governed by eparchs and satraps. A few of these princes inherited their titles from a period antedating Ardashir, and held such an independent position that they were treated with greater consideration than the others; yet the numerous body of vassal kings was very much diminished after the period of the Parthians.

[1] The word kurrah, or khurrah, was, probably, in ancient Persian, Khshathra. The five kurrahs of Persis were as follows: Istakhr, Ardashir Khurrah, with Shiraz for its capital; Darabgird, Shapur, and Arragan, lying toward Susiana. The oasis of Yezd made one of the rostaks of Istakhr; in Ardashir Khurrah there were a dozen tassujes; the villages and hamlets situated in the latter subdivision were called Karyeh and Imarat.

Sapor I. (241–272 A.D.) — whose portrait has come down to us on a garnet gem preserved in the ducal cabinet at Gotha (Fig. 69) — won back Armenia and Mesopotamia, which had been held by Alexander Severus and Gordianus III., by a peace concluded with Philip the Arabian, the murderer of Gordianus. The stronghold of Hatra also fell into his hands, according to the poetical tradition, through the treason of Nadhira, or Malika, King Dhaizan's daughter, who had fallen in love with Sapor. The greatest deed of prowess accomplished by Sapor was the defeat and capture of the Emperor Valerian (253–260), and the conquest of Antioch. He employed his numerous Roman prisoners in works of utility, such as the making of the Shadrevan ('carpet') and the Band-i-Kaisar ('the emperor's dam'). Above the city Shuster (Sosirate), at a bend in the river Karun, the water was confined by a granite dam 600 paces in length, fourteen in width, and surmounted by a bridge of forty-four arches; a second dam confined the water on the western bank, from which it was conducted away by means of a canal. By this expedient it was possible to provide the citadel with water through a tunnel, and to give the water in the canal the proper fall. Sapor colonized his Roman prisoners in Gund-i-Shapur, a city once famous, among other things, for its medical schools. It lay between Shuster and Dizful, but has now completely disappeared. The triumph of Sapor over Valerian is repeatedly immortalized in reliefs. At Naksh-i-Rustam (Fig. 70), between the second and third tombs, the king is shown on horseback, wearing the battlemented crown and the silken head-dress exactly as he is represented on his coins; before him, on his knees, suing for mercy, is the emperor. Far richer is a piece of sculpture at Shapur, in which more than a hundred figures, many on horseback, are seen, bringing weapons, wreaths, and drinking-utensils. In the vicinity, the king is fashioned, full length, in a statue nearly twenty-two feet in height, standing before a grotto (Figs. 71, 72). He wears a close-fitting wrinkled dress; his left hand clasps his sword-hilt, his right rests on his side. The absence



FIG. 69. — Gem with Portrait of Sapor I. (Garnet in Gotha.)

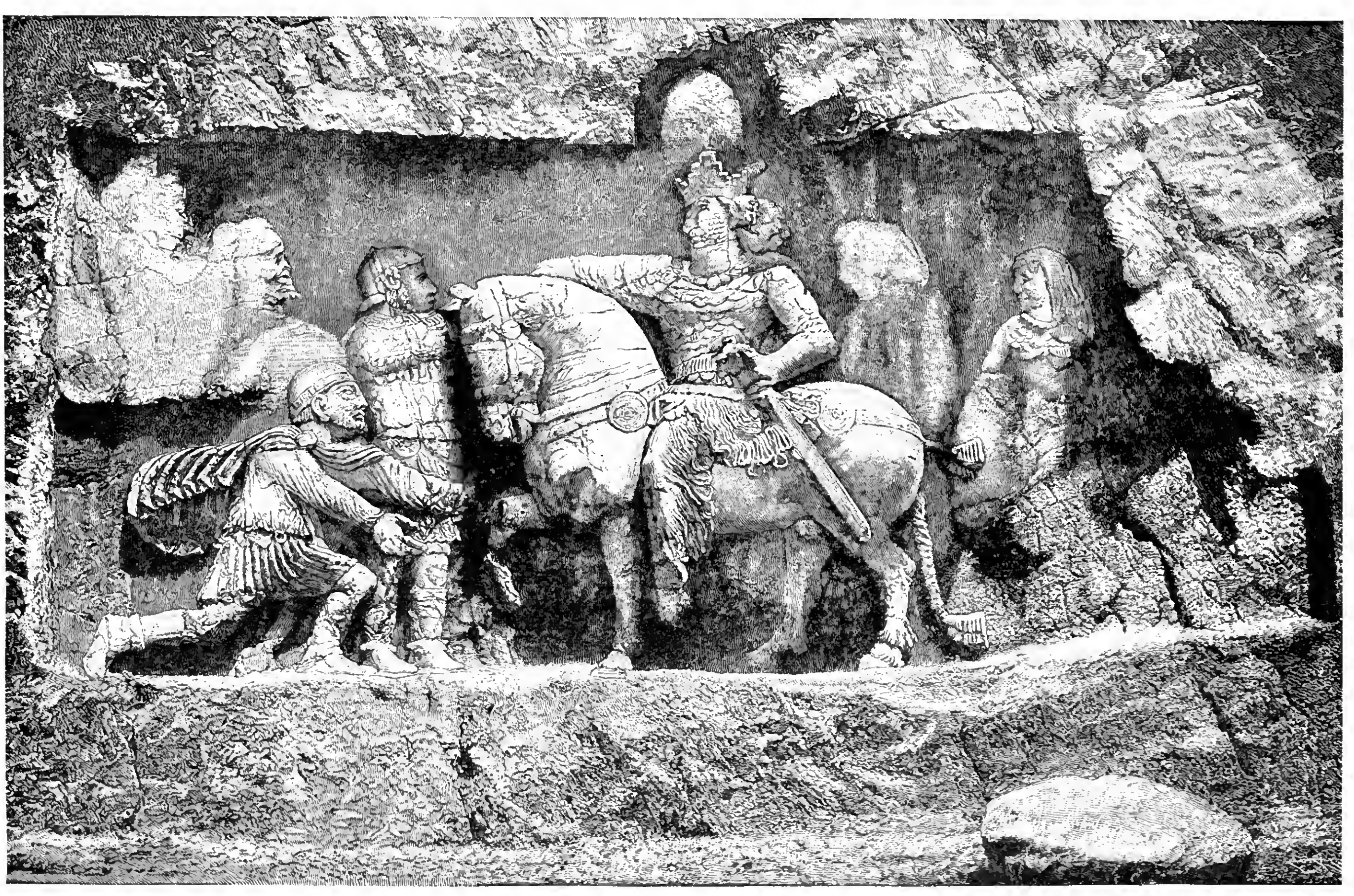


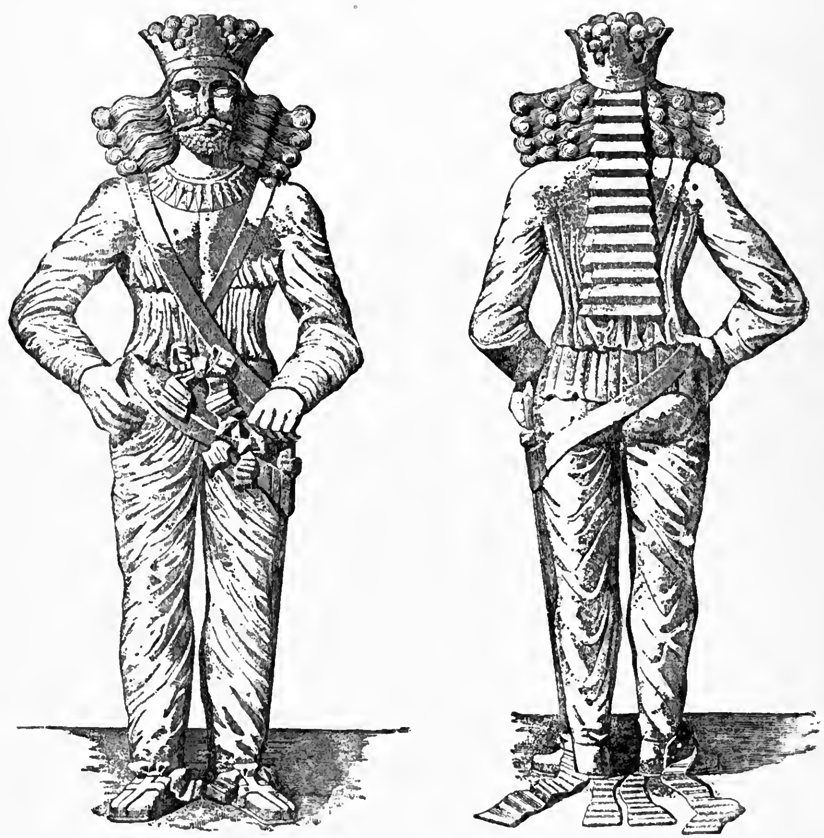
FIG. 70. — Sapor's Triumph over Valerian. Relief at Naksh-i-Rustam. (After Stolze-Andreas.)

of a mantle greatly detracts from the royal dignity of this figure. A relief of Sapor at Naksh-i-Rajab (Istakhr) resembles that of Ardashir. The king receives the ring from Ahura Mazda; both figures are on horseback; and on the king's horse is engraved an inscription in Persian and Greek, mentioning Shapur, his father Artakhshatr, and his grandfather Papak.

On his expedition against the Romans, Sapor had contemptuously treated the ambassadors of Odenathus of Palmyra, and rejected their offerings. Odenathus avenged himself for this insult by attacking the Persians on their return march, and capturing a portion of their booty. He even marched against Mesopotamia, took the satraps of Carrhae and Nisibis prisoners, and appeared before Ctesiphon. Palmyra, which the Jews incorrectly claim to have been founded by Solomon, first comes into prominence during the expedition of Antony (p. 246). It is much more ancient, however, as is proven by the discovery in its ruins of a piece of terra-cotta containing the name of Taharka, the Egyptian king, who lived at least nine hundred years earlier. At the time of the wars between Rome and Persia, the wilderness between the Euphrates and Palmyra was the scene of a lively international trade, and the Arabians practised a temporizing policy between the two powers.

The Romans gave their protection to the inhabited territory, and even constrained the Arabians to preserve order, until their troops were afterwards withdrawn. Then Palmyra undertook the same task. The city was governed by a senate, a popular assembly, and the military commanders; the merchant who was able to give safe convoy to the caravans by means of Arabs enjoyed the greatest prestige. The reign of Odenathus comes between the capture of Valerian in 260, and the taking of the city by Aurelian in the autumn of 271. In return for the services which he rendered to Rome, he was granted the title of *Dux et Imperator* of the East by the Emperor Gallienus, whose rival he crushed in Syria. Odenathus afterwards assumed the title of 'King of Kings.' At the same time he gave his queen, Zenobia (Bath Zabbai), an Arabian woman of extraordinary culture and beauty, the honorary name of 'Sebaste,' and her son Vahballat, that of 'Sebastos' or 'Augustus.' This brought about a rupture with Rome. Odenathus was put to death.

Zenobia herself, in the autumn of 271, was taken prisoner by Aurelian, and after adorning his triumph at Rome was allowed to live quietly at Tibur with her son. The inhabitants of Palmyra endeavored to throw off the Roman yoke; but they were massacred by the command of Aurelian, and the city was razed. The ruins of Palmyra, or



FIGS. 71 and 72. — Statue of Sapor, before a grotto, near Shapur. Front and rear view. (After Texier.)

Tadmor, as it is called in the Bible, consisting of temples and palaces with countless columns and colonnades, and about sixty quadrangular sepulchral towers, are among the most imposing in the world. They were discovered in 1678, and have been repeatedly described.

Sapor was succeeded by his sons Hormizdas and Varahran I. (Bahram), whose brief reigns lasted only from 272 till 276. The

son of the latter, Varahran II., next mounted the throne, and reigned until 293. It was during his time that Mani (Manes, or Manichaeus), the founder of a new religion, was put to death. This remarkable man, whose religious ideas caused a commotion, not only in Persia, but in all Christendom as far as Gaul, had conceived the thought of instituting a universal religion, founded upon all that was best in other faiths. The doctrine that lay at its foundation was that of Zoroaster; and therewith Christian, according to the conceptions of Marcion, Babylonian, and even Buddhist elements, were so skilfully entwined that Manicheism found many



Fig. 73. — The Goddess Anahita giving Varahran II. the Ring of Sovereignty. Relief at Naksh-i-Rustam. (After Texier.)

adherents, not only in Asia, but in Europe. The Magians brought Mani before their court on a charge of heresy, and he was condemned to be flayed alive.

To Varahran II. is ascribed the relief sculptured at Naksh-i-Rustam, between the third tomb and the one farthest to the west. The assumption is based on the king's coins, which represent a somewhat similar scene. Another view, however, interprets the sculpture as representing Sapor I. bestowing the crown upon his queen. The former theory seeks to explain the bas-relief as representing the queen, under the guise of the goddess Anahita, offering Varahran the ring of sovereignty (Fig. 73). She wears a machicolated crown, from under which escape long curls,

falling upon her shoulders; the ordinary necklace and silken ribbons are not forgotten. A similar image of the goddess is found at Tak-i-Bostan, where, as the mistress of the waters, she is depicted emptying an amphora. She is also represented on a seal with the words *rastihi* ('righteousness'), and *Parsumi*, the name of the owner. On the coins of Vologeses II. and his successors she begins to appear in Grecian style. The consecration of the king has the same motive as in the sculptures which the Achaemenians caused to be placed in the temple of Anaïtis at Pasargadae; the same also as that in the great relief at Boghaz-Keui. Varahran's son, Varahran III., survived his father only about four months (293). He was succeeded by Narses (Narsahi), Sapor's youngest son, who reigned from 293 until 302. He engaged in war with the emperor Galerius, by whom he was defeated, and deprived of five provinces. Grief at the loss caused the old king's death. At Shapur there is a relief which, like the others, represents two men on horseback, one of whom, Ahura Mazda, presents the other, Narses, a wreath. The inscription is important because, contrary to the usual tradition, it designates him as the son of Sapor. The seal of a high official shows the image of a king, which instantly attracts attention by its resemblance to the heads of Narses shown upon his coins (Fig. 74). The inscription of this work of art reads: "The orthodox Shapur (Sapor), master of the storehouses of Iran." The king's image here has the same significance as national coats-of-arms on official seals.



Fig. 74. — Seal of an official. London, British Museum.

The last of these somewhat inglorious rulers in the Sassanian dynasty was Hormizdas II., a son of Narses. He reigned from 302 until 309. He had many sons, and was succeeded by one of them named Adhar-narseh, who was quickly deposed on account of his cruelty. Apparently he was put to death. Another son had his eyes put

out; a third was thrown into prison. Hormizdas had a second wife; and she, apparently with the concurrence of the nobility, placed her son Sapor II. upon the throne, though he was a posthumous child. His vigorous reign lasted seventy years, or from 309 to 379 (Fig. 75). His chief endeavors were directed toward getting Mesopotamia from the control of the Romans, for which the death of Constantine the Great, on the 22d of May, 337, seemed to afford a favorable opportunity. But the Roman fortress of Nisibis twice withstood his impetuous attacks, and in 347 he was obliged to agree to an armistice. In the following year he captured Singara; and in 350 he appeared with a great army before Nisibis, which was compelled to endure a four months' siege. In spite of the breach effected by damming the river Mygdonius, and in spite of repeated assaults with cavalry and elephants, the Persians failed to



Fig. 75. — Silver drachma of Sapor II. (After B. Dorn.)

accomplish their object, and had to retire. The war remained long in abeyance, until Julian left Antioch in March, 363, and took the field. He sent an army down the Tigris to Media, with the purpose of effecting a junction with it before Ctesiphon. He himself marched down the road by the Euphrates, conquered Pirisabora, a provision depot of the Persians, and arrived within three miles of the city of Ctesiphon, which was quickly taken by storm under the personal lead of Julian and Nevitta, the commander of the Gothic troops. The Romans next appeared before Seleucia. A Persian army was waiting on the other side of the Tigris; nevertheless, the Romans effected a passage, and won a victory, compelling Sapor to negotiate for peace. Julian determined to carry the conquest farther; but the army which proceeded against Media was unsuccessful, and on the march toward the northeast, provisions began to fail on account of the land having been laid waste

by the Persians. Consequently Julian returned to Gordyene; but the Persians, under their general Mihran, hastened to cut off his return. A skirmish took place at Samarra, on the Tigris, and though the Romans were victorious, the emperor himself was killed by an arrow. Jovian, his successor, was not equal to the situation, and was compelled by Sapor to agree to a humiliating peace, by which a part of Mesopotamia, with the unconquered Nisibis, and Armenia, were handed over to the Persians. In Armenia, Tiridates, a son of Chosroes, who had died in 258, had been placed upon the throne (286) by the Romans, whose protection he had sought against Ardashir. During his reign the Armenians were converted to Christianity. Chosroes II. made peace with the Persians, but afterwards had a rupture with Sapor. His son Tiranes succeeded him on the throne, through the influence of the emperor Constantius, but against the will of Sapor. He was treacherously enticed into the power of Sapor, who had his eyes put out, and made his son Arshak (Artaxerxes II.) king in his stead. The latter also succeeded in gaining Sapor's ill will, and was thrust into prison in Andmesh, the 'castle of forgetfulness' (probably Gilgird, near Shushan, on the upper Kuran), where he made way with himself.

Sapor II. twice persecuted the Christians, but merely from political reasons, the Christians having given assistance to his enemies, the Romans. The Nestorians, who were condemned by the Church as heretics, did not suffer persecution. The Syrian Acts of the Persian Martyrs give frightful pictures of the bloodthirsty zeal of the Magians in persecution, which in their case was the result of religious hatred; at the same time we have equally as good evidence from the writings of the Christians of Armenia, that the Christians, as far as they were able, persecuted the followers of Zoroaster with equal hatred. Even the Jews took part in these proceedings; as, for example, in the martyrdom of Shmavon (Simeon), bishop of Seleucia. The zeal of the Zoroastrian priests is in accordance with the strict precepts of the later Zoroastrian religion, which Sapor II. authoritatively introduced as the religion of the state. Mani's attempt to found a new religion on the basis of the faith of Zoroaster was one of the predisposing causes to this action; for the solid organization of a state religion must render nugatory any such

attempts to introduce doctrines dangerous to the state. According to the proclamation of Chosroes Nushirvan, the Avesta, in its present shape, was published as a canonical book under the Parthian Vologeses I., whose brother was a Magian; likewise Ardashir, in conjunction with the priest Tosar, or Tansar, is commemorated as a restorer of the pure faith; since by his victory the Greek culture affected by the Parthians was put aside. The old Avesta of Vishtaspa, of which a copy, written in gold ink on vellum, is said to have been destroyed by Alexander the Great, was again brought into shape by the priests; that is to say, the priests took the ancient fragments that had come down from the time of the Achaemenians, and the religious writings that had been composed during the five hundred years since Alexander, and composed a new work in the archaic language, which was preserved in all its purity as the exclusive possession of the Median priests. This work, which corresponded to the necessities of new circumstances, and met the requirements of the priests, contained a collection of liturgical and legislative books; and as it was surrounded by the halo of divine revelation, it was especially suitable for the organization of a state religion. Even under the Parthians the Magians had a hierarchy and secular possessions, and, as we have seen, were represented in the conduct of the government. To this time are referred the Buddhistic variants on the legends of Zoroaster, and the name of Gautama, or Buddha, occurring in the Avesta. Buddhism was already spreading through the countries conquered by the Yue-chi. It is said that Sapor II. summoned a council of the priests of the kingdom, and ordered the Avesta to be restored under the direction of Atur-Pat Maraspend. The so-called Zend script, in which the present Avesta is written, was derived from the Pahlavi, and first came into use in the sixth century of our era, or after the time of the official introduction of the Avesta. It has for its foundation the latest development of the Pahlavi, and must have drawn upon the Greek alphabet, or upon the Armenian, which was derived from the Greek in the fifth century, for the new method of expressing vowel sounds. The translation into Pahlavi must also date from this period; and the manuscripts containing this version by the side of the original Avestan are invaluable for textual criticism and

interpretation. The translation was a necessity, because the original was composed not so much in an earlier dialect as in a language spoken outside of Persis, that is to say, the Median; for had this sacred language been only an earlier form of the Sassanian Persian, there would have been as little need of a translation into the vernacular as the Russians have of a translation of their Bible from the ecclesiastical Slavonic. The opportunity of translating the language of the Avesta naturally involved the possibility that in the time of the Sassanians additions were newly composed in this ancient tongue. That this was the case, and that the Book of the Laws, the Vendidad, especially, was at that time rewritten in the interest of the priests, are proved by many details: for instance, the presence of Aramaic words, even of a Greek word (*erethé* in the Yasna); the attack upon celibacy, which Mani and the Christians regarded as meritorious; the acceptance of Gnostic teachings, that of the Heavenly Wisdom for example; the allusions to dissenting or false Athravans or priests, which refers to sects which, like apostates (Ashemaogha), are conceivable only in an ecclesiastically organized religion; so likewise are the extraordinary stress and wealth of elaboration expended upon the precepts of religion and religious morals; the impossibility of saving the soul without the intervention of the priests; and the metamorphosis of heroic legends into a history of the champions of the faith.

Atur-Pat, it is said, submitted to the trial by fire to show that he was proceeding according to divine inspiration. The name of this priest, which was also borne by his grandson, the son of Zartusht, and a noted theologian in the time of Yezdigerd I., points to Atropatene and to the priestly dynasty of Atropates of Media as the source of this religious reformation. Media had been for centuries bound into the closest unity with Persia; and the national antipathy which had existed in the times of the earlier Achaemenians, strengthened at first by the non-Aryan elements of the population, had entirely disappeared. Moreover, the Median Magians had settled in all parts of the kingdom as priests (Athravans), and had thus prepared the soil for the erection of a church organization. Together with the formation of an exclusive class of priests, claiming the right to share in the government, and regarding the maintenance of the ecclesiastical

doctrine as a matter of life and death, grew a system of intolerance of dissenters, quite foreign to the original Persian nature, as is shown not only by the treatment of the religions of conquered nations by the early kings, but also by the numberless maxims uttered by the noblest Persians in Mohammedan times. Media is also designated by the legends of Zoroaster as the country in which he was born. Iranian tradition never claimed Persis nor Bactria as his home. This tends to show that in the popular belief the composition of the books attributed to him, that is, the Avesta, was Median in origin. Among the cities in antiquity asserting to have been Zoroaster's home



FIG. 76. — Persian warrior, armed in mail. (After Ker Porter.)

was Rhagae in Media, his mother's birthplace, where the Atropatenian dynasty of Prince-priests, Masmogan, had their residence, as the Avesta itself states, also Urumia, and again Gezn or Shiz, in Atropatene. The latter place is also connected with the legend of Jemshid (Yima), because Vera, as the citadel of Phraaspa, or Gezn (Takht-i-Suleiman), is called, is the Vara of the Avesta, the district in which Yima protects men and beasts from the tribulations of winter and the floods caused by the melting of the snow. The description of Vara with its mythical accompaniments recalls the story of Noah's Ark and the Tower of Babel, as well as the apocalyptic account of the New Jerusalem. According to the legend, Zoroaster passed from

his birthplace to the mountain Asnavand, where the fire, Gushnasp, forever burned, in order to receive the revelation from Ahura Mazda. This mountain, which lies in Arran, is identical, according to some, with Mount Sabelan, near Ardebil. In Ptolemy, the geographer, Ardebil is called Vesaspe (Gusnasp).

The present Avesta, edited during the Sassanian era, is composed of the Avesta proper and the Little Avesta. The former includes the Vendidad, a Book of Laws with interpolated mythical fragments; the Yasna, or litanies, to be recited during the offering of sacrifice, with suplications to the divinities, mixed with fragments of traditional lore; next, a collection of Gathas, or verses arranged in strophes; and finally the Vispered, likewise composed of sacrificial litanies. In some of the manuscripts these pieces stand by themselves, are divided into chapters and verses according to the plan in-introduced into the Syrian schools, and are accompanied by the translation into the Parthian or Sassanian tongue (the Pahlavi). In other manuscripts they come as they are to be read during the liturgy, without regular sequence; and then they have no accompanying translation. This arrangement, with the first twenty-seven chapters of the Yasna and the first twelve of the Vispered commingled, and then followed by the first four chapters of the Vendidad and then by the first Gatha, is called the Vendidad sadeh, ('the pure,' or unaccompanied by the translation). The Little Avesta, however, is that portion of the Holy Scriptures which the laity may read at any time, and is therefore not connected with sacrifices and liturgy. It contains many short treatises, as for example, the Nosk-Hadōkht on the fate of the soul after death, and eighteen of the original thirty Yasht, or laudatory prayers to the Yazatas, who were divine beings especially designated to preside as genii over the days of the month.

From quotations in the language of the Avesta, which are found in later Pahlavi writings, it may be concluded that the Avesta was once larger. This is not, however, the case with the genuine Avesta, the integrity of which was assured by its employment in divine worship. The Avesta was first translated by its rediscoverer, Anquetil de Perron, not indeed from the original text, but from a Persian translation dictated to him by Parsi priests in India. The scientific study of the sacred book began sixty years later under Burnouf, and there are now several translations into modern tongues.

On the same mountain which Darius sculptured with his great inscription, Sapor II. also left a lasting memorial of himself. At the western end of Behistun lies the Tak-i-Bostan, 'garden-arch.' It consists of two halls built out of the living rock, with round arched entrances resembling the Roman triumphal arches. In the spandrils, above the archivolts of twenty-five feet span, genii of victory are sculptured. The rear wall of the great hall is ornamented with reliefs: at the bottom, that of a mailed knight; on the cornice above stands Sapor II., leaning on his sword and wearing a winged crown; at his right is Anahita; at his left Ahura Mazda, or Ormazd, who, as well as the goddess, offers the king a ring decked with ribbons. The god's mantle and the drapery of the goddess are patterned after Roman prototypes. On the side wall are represented a great boar- and stag-hunt, both of no mediocre workmanship, especially in the treatment of the animals. The smaller hall contains the portraits of Sapor II. and III., as is proved by the inscriptions. At one side of this grotto stands Sapor over the prone figure of a man, apparently a Roman; at his right stands Mithra, the sun-god, with a great halo of rays, and with a club in both hands; at his left is Ormazd, handing the king the ring of dominion and victory.



Fig. 77. — Seal of Varahran Kirman-Shah, London, British Museum.

Sapor's immediate successors were his elder brother, Ardashir II., and his nephew, Sapor III., both of whom enjoyed only short periods of sovereignty. Sapor III. was succeeded by his son, or possibly brother, Varahran (Bahram), who reigned from 388 till 399. He had been viceroy of Kirman, and therefore bore the title of Kirman-Shah. The seal which he used in that capacity has come down to us (Fig. 77); the inscription reads: "Varahran Kirman-Shah, son of the Mazda-worshipping King Sapor, king of kings of Iran and Aniran, divine offspring of the gods." He repelled an invasion of the Huns into Mesopotamia, but was killed in a mutiny among the soldiers. Yezdigerd I., apparently a son of Varahran, was a shrewder and more prudent prince. He concluded an advantageous peace with Rome, and showed such toleration of the Christian religion in spite of the

wishes of the Magians, that in the Persian tradition he is called the 'sinner'. Later, to be sure, the Christians by their own foolish zeal brought upon themselves a few acts of violence. His son Varahran V., who reigned from 420 till 438, was a zealous huntsman; he was reputed to have killed a lion, together with a wild ass attacked by the lion, and thereby gained the surname of Gor, 'the wild ass.' It seems that the Magians and nobles feared that he would persist in his father's policy, and consequently set themselves against his succession. By the assistance of the king of Hirah, this opposition was overcome; and to prove that he would be favorably inclined toward the Magians, he immediately gave orders for a persecution of the Christians. By this action he embroiled himself with Byzantium, and the war, conducted by Mihr-Nerseh (Narses), an Arsacid, was carried on with varying fortunes; it was finally brought to an end by a peace that was conditioned upon reciprocal religious toleration. In Armenia the magnates brought complaints against the king, Artaxia IV., and Varahran drove him from the throne; in his place he established Mihr-Nerseh as viceroy (*marzpan*).

Yezdigerd II. (438–457 A. D.) effected a treaty with Byzantium in the reign of Theodosius II., regulating the affairs of Armenia, which for many years had been a bone of contention between the two nations. Theodosius thereby came into possession of Armenia proper, with the fortress of Theodosiopolis (now Erzerum, or Arzen-er-Rum), while the Persians retained the country called from that time Persarmenia. A persecution of the Armenian Christians stirred up against Mihr-Nerseh a revolt, which was crushed in 451 by the viceroy's victory over Vardan, their leader, in the plain of Avarair, near Maku. About this time a very dangerous enemy began to threaten the kingdom: this was the Hephthalites (called by the Arabians the Haital), or White Huns; they also bore the name of Kushan, which strictly belonged to their predecessors, the Yue-chi. They had their seat in Bactria; and their dominion stretched out over Tokharistan, Bamiyan, Andekhud, and Shiberghan. Much information about this civilized but dangerous people is to be found in the works of the Byzantine historians, like Procopius, and of the Armenian authors, such as Moses of Khorni, Agathangelus, Elisaeus, Faustus, and others. These White Huns formed

an intermediate kingdom between the Persians and Turks; when they were destroyed, toward the middle of the sixth century, the Turks began to encroach on the borders of Persia.

Yezdigerd's eldest son, Hormizdas III., was assassinated at the instigation of his brother Perozes, whose reign lasted from 459 till 484. The mother of those two brothers was named Dinaki, and she wielded the sceptre in Ctesiphon. There is in the Stroganoff collection an amethyst gem (Fig. 78), with the portrait of this distinguished lady, and a Pahlavi inscription which reads: ***Dīnaki zi** malkatān malkatā mahēsti pun tani-sh apastan*, meaning, 'Dinaki, the queen of queens, the worshipper of Ahura Mazda: have trust in her body (or person).' A bitter war with the Haital twice brought the king into their power; finally he was obliged to leave his son Kavadh with them as a hostage. Perozes was obliged to consent to a peace; but he broke it, and was defeated and killed. His daughter Perozdokht, with much booty, came into the hands of the enemy. The viceroy of the kingdom, during the war, was Sokhra, or Sofrai, of the Arsacid family of the Kares. He concluded a peace, and placed upon the throne a brother of the fallen king named Balas (or Valgash, a form of Vologeses). He reigned from 484 till 488. The Haital did not cease from their depredations, but ravaged the eastern portion of the kingdom. Perozes's son, Kavadh, or Kobad (488–531), favored the teaching of Mazdak, a religious teacher who sought, by teaching communism, to heal the evils of society by removing their causes, envy and strife: these two passions are based upon the holding of property, and they lose their force if wealth, and even wives, be held in common.



Fig. 78. — Gem of Queen Dinaki. (Stroganoff collection.)

Mazdak's teaching, which, in consonance with the principles of Zoroaster, discountenanced the shedding of blood and the eating of meat, was based on philanthropic motives, and naturally found wide acceptance among the lower classes. The king was pronounced in his leaning toward it, because he was willing to strike at the power of the nobility and of the priests, which was becoming more and more prejudicial to royalty. But the power of these two

estates, combined, proved superior to the king's. Kobad was thrust into prison, and his brother Jamasp was raised to the throne in 496, and, according to the testimony of his coins, reigned three years. Then Kobad, evidently after promising to make concessions to the offended parties, regained the throne. The Mazdakites, who had already caused a serious disintegration of the social order, were, although their doctrines in aftertimes repeatedly sprang up again, exterminated in a general massacre. In 502 Kobad began a war with Byzantium, during which he captured Theodosiopolis and Amida (Diarbekir), which he garrisoned. A Roman army was also defeated in front of Nisibis; but an incursion of the White Huns obliged him to conclude a peace, by the terms of which he again lost Amida. Then Belisarius, Justinian's general, defeated an army in Mesopotamia, and the Persian Mermeroës was conquered in Armenia.

The Persian Book of Kings ascribes to Kobad the foundation of Arragan, on the border between Persis and Susiana. The ruins of this city are found at Behbehan on both banks of the Tab, the Oroatis of the ancients, which was the boundary river of the two countries. As the city is apparently the same as Rakha, it is probable that Kobad only enlarged it, and rebuilt one or both of the bridges over the river, the ruins of which have a Sassanian character. One of the bridges consists of a single arch. Somewhat farther up the river, at Tang-i-Teko, lies a cave where bubbles up *mumie*, a sort of liquid pitch, which is medicinally used for fractures and other injuries. The fire-temple of Arragan must have stood in the neighborhood of this spring. The seaport of Mahruban, at the mouth of the Tab, was connected with Arragan by a caravan-road, which led from here by way of Pelat to Ispahan, and in the Ardekan mountains touched the city Axima. From Istakhr, or from Shiraz, a double road led to Arragan, crossing straight over the mountains of Baidha to Naubandagan, south of the river Fahliyan. At Naubandagan is the fire-tower which we have already mentioned. Before this city lies the valley of the streamlet Bahram. Here above the water is sculptured the Naksh-i-Bahram (or 'image of Bahram'), which represents the king with four attendants. On the other side of the Fahliyan lies the valley of Shahab-Bavan, described

by the poets as the loveliest spot on the earth. (Its only rivals were the Ghuta of Damascus, Sogd, or Samarcand, and Obolla on the Euphrates). From Arragan the route goes westward by Tashūn into the winding valley of Tang-i-Saulek, through which rushes a mountain stream. Here and there fragments of the ancient stone pavement are to be found. On an isolated black crag, forty feet high, is a great relief with Pahlavi inscriptions on both sides; at the top, on an altar, stands a cone decorated with ribbons, next which is the great figure of a priest with a pointed cap and mantle, and near him a sitting figure of the king, and a number of forms, among them a repetition of the four figures and a horseman killing a bear. On the other side of the rock are two sitting figures with spears, the one in the foreground seemingly Mithra. Next is a man reclining on a couch, and holding a ring in his hand; beside him is a servant. Still a third relief on the rock opposite, like the Parthian relief of Gotarzes, represents a horseman with a Victory crowning him, and behind her a man triumphing over his slain enemy. By way of Patek, the plain of Baidha, between the river of Allar and the lake of Ram-Hormuz, is reached. Here are extensive ruins; among others, vaulted chambers and aqueducts hewn from the solid rock. The spot is called Kalah-i-Geber, 'the castle of the fire-worshippers.' Farther to the northwest are seen the ruins of Manjanik, Argavan, and Mal-amir, with ancient Susanian sculptures and inscriptions. From this point, the route follows the paved highroad of the Achaemenians, already mentioned, and crossing the mountains, reaches Pelat; another to the westward goes to Shushter, by the way of Baitavend.

Sassanian ruins are found in many other parts of Persis and Mesopotamia, as well as upon these highways. The geographers of the Middle Ages mention ancient works of the 'Geber,' sculptures even in the remotest regions, as in Kirman, in Media, and in Arachosia, which have never as yet been discovered by Europeans, or have already perished, like the ruins of a domed building of Kobad, at Asek between Arragan and Ram-Hormuz, mentioned by Yakut, and the ruins of Hendigan, consisting of tombs and fire-temples situated between Arragan and Asek. Among other places mentioned is Ardistan, on the way from Kashan to Naïn, near the desert. Here are memorials of the Magians and a wonderful subterranean aqueduct.

Istakhri mentions a stone with sculptures in the midst of the desert between Kirman and Khorasan. In the desert between Teheran and Kum there stands the monastery of Koj, founded by Ardashir. It has lofty brick walls and towers, and vaults and cisterns built in the rock. On the other side, south of Kum, stands the 'Castle of the Gebers,' from which was said to have come one of the three Magi who worshipped the child Jesus; the others were from Savah, where there is a cave with strange sculptures, and from Avah towards the northwest.

Chosroes I., Nushirvan (531–579), destroyed the kingdom of the Hephthalites, and first came into collision with the Turks, who, at the expense of the former, had been gradually spreading out toward Sogdiana. Chosroes, through the conquest of Antioch in 540, procured a favorable peace with Byzantium. He settled his prisoners at Ctesiphon, in a city built especially for them on the plan of their former home, and called Rumiya, or Chosro-Antioche. A second war against Justinian proved favorable for him. His power extended as far as the distant Yemen, in southern Arabia, where he assisted a claimant to the throne, and he gave his support to the trade with Berbera on the African coast. Yet he, too, suffered misfortune. His eldest son raised the standard of revolt in Lapato (Gund-i-Shapur), but was imprisoned, and deprived of his eyes. In Armenia, Vardanes II. put the Persian viceroy to death, and defeated the Persians. Chosroes went to the relief of his subjects, but at Malatiya he perceived a Roman army waiting for him. The Persians fled across the Euphrates, which the king swam on the back of his elephant; and although a Roman army was defeated by a Persian general in Armenia, yet the Romans advanced as far as Singara. While new negotiations for peace were in progress, Chosroes died. He brought the empire into great repute. On the boundaries toward the Turks, the Romans, and the Khazars, who held a wide sway on the Volga, he built enormous fortifications, the most famous of which is the Wall of Derbent, in Caucassian Russia; it was begun by his father Kobad. The wall extended seven farsangs, from Derbent toward the mountains, and at every farsang was stationed a garrison of Persian soldiery to guard the iron gates. At Derbent this wall stretched out some distance into the Caspian Sea; and as a mole was also built

at this place, the seaport could be protected by chains. On account of the number of gates in this wall, the city was called by the Arabs Bab-we'l-Abwab, or the 'gate and the gates;' the Armenians called it Jor; the Greeks, 'the Albanian gates;' and the Turks, 'the iron gate.' Even to this day the descendants of the military colonies speak a Persian dialect; but this is gradually disappearing before the Turkish. A measure of great utility was the introduction of a land-tax, for which Kobad made preparation by having all landed possessions carefully surveyed. Lists of taxes were prepared, in which all provinces, cities, and villages were entered, together with the number of fruit-trees and vineyards, as well as the names of the inhabitants. A capitation tax was imposed upon Christians and Jews. The taxes were paid yearly at the treasury at Ctesiphon, through officials controlled by the judges of the circuits; and the king required from the highest functionary a report concerning the receipts and the state of the finances. Under Chosroes II. Parviz, the income from taxes in the year 607, including those from other sources, amounted to 600,000,000 *dirhem*, corresponding, if reckoned according to Arabic money, to about $57,000,000, or to $70,000,000 if reckoned by weight. Under the Arabians this amount of taxes was never attained, but the income fell off year by year; agricultural activity not being attractive to the Arabians, while among the Persians it has the sanction of religion as a practical duty. The Persians believed that through the reclamation of desert places by irrigation, and through agriculture, arise comfort and opulence, which avert the evils sent by Ahriman, — beggary, poverty, disease, and the sins of deceit, theft, and murder. The Vendidad and the Mainog-i-Khirad emphasize, in the name of God, the fact that the spirit of the earth is filled with unspeakable joy when a pious man with sacred utensils walks upon it at the summons of the heavenly powers, and especially when he sets up his habitation with fire, cattle, wife, and children, and flocks, aye, with wealth of cattle, with integrity, with dogs, and with all kinds of possessions; and, thirdly, when he raises the greatest possible harvests of corn, grass, provender, and fruits, and irrigates the barren land, and drains the swamps. "He who cultivates the land with his left arm and right, with his right arm and left, O holy Zarathushtra! to him it brings wealth,

even as the lovely wife brings children to her dear husband; he who sows grain, sows holiness, and makes the religion of God wax fat, precisely as though he had repeated the Yasna a thousand times. When the wheat grows, the Divs are angry; when it is winnowed, the Divs are troubled; when it is ground, the Divs howl; when it is made into meal, the Divs flee away."

Under the first Califs, who proceeded to govern according to Arabian methods, the receipts of the taxes became much smaller; and although the Abbassides (750–1258 A.D.) took the Sassanian plan as a basis, yet agriculture never again had the repute that it enjoyed under the Persian kings. The Koran actually teaches that God distributes the increase of all kinds of growing things according to a fixed law, and that he has the power to cut off in the course of a single night whatever man deems that he can depend upon because of the abundance of fruits that he had enjoyed hitherto; that God, if it so please him, can send locusts, and can dry the springs so that they will send forth no water.

In the treasure-houses of the Sassanians were stored not only gold, but countless costly articles, such as jewels, gold and silver utensils, clothes, carpets, and the like. The splendor displayed in rugs can be realized from the description of the booty secured later by the Arabs in Ctesiphon. One of the most costly pieces mentioned was a carpet of the kind called Suzankert (Arabic, Susanjird), a magnificent specimen of tapestry, sixty ells square, embroidered on the standing loom. As the royal ell was about 21.275 inches, each side measured upwards of 106 feet in length, making the area more than 11,000 square feet. This tapestry, which was manufactured expressly for Chosroes, served as a rug in winter; and the garden represented upon it, in all the glories of spring, called to mind the joyous festivals of a more delightful season of the year. The soil of the garden, serving as the groundwork of the tapestry, was composed of a woof of gold; the course of the brooks was marked by crystalline stones; the gravelled walks consisted of jewels as large as pearls. The stalks and branches were of gold and silver, the leaves and flowers of variegated silks, and the fruits of brilliant stones. The whole was bordered by flower-beds of parti-colored jewels. This gigantic tapestry was composed of separate pieces

sewed together, as is done at the present day. The threads of metal and silk were worked into the warp by means of the needle, as was customary in this sort of tapestry, or stitched in and out through the nap. The ground warp of this carpet was cotton; the design or the picture was made of tufts of flock silk, but the gold or silver threads formed the groundwork in place of the warp. The precious stones were strung like pearls upon the threads of gold, and fastened by the same to the warp. The gold and silver thread in these most ancient rugs, the manufacture of which lasted until well into the fifteenth century, were made not of woven wire, as in the later Persian tapestries, but of gilded and silvered strips of copper, over which

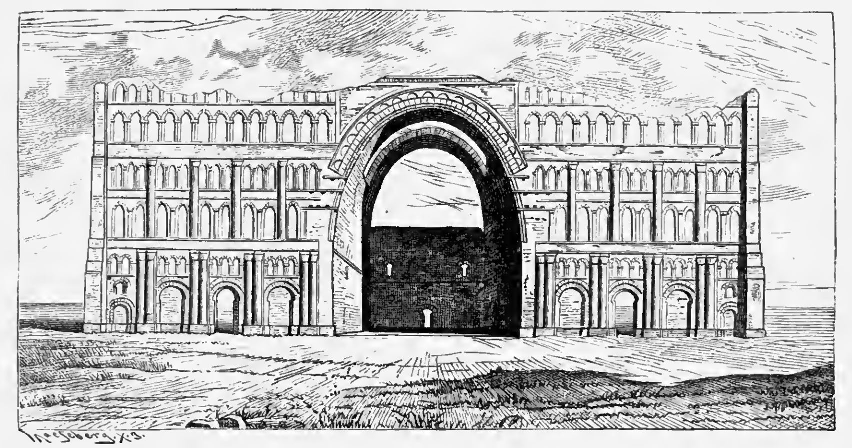


Fig. 79. — Tak Kesra. (Ctesiphon.) (After Flandin and Coste, and Fergusson.)

yellow woollen threads were wound. An especially good quality of this material was produced in Behbehan; another kind of gold striping was attached to the upper side of extraordinarily fine leather. This kind was finished in Irak and Alexandria, and exported into Europe. The principal manufactory of the Susanjird tapestry carpets was confined to the cities southwest from Susa, on the borders of Susiana. Chosroes's rug was valued at 3,600,000 drachmas, or 300,000 dinars, equivalent to about $600,000. After the capture of Ctesiphon it was sent to Medina. The Calif Omar caused it to be cut up, and distributed the fragments among his generals, who immediately used them as money. In after times the Arabians themselves practised the art of manufacturing carpets, and trans-

planted it to the west; and accordingly nearly all the motives of these Saracenic works can be traced back to prototypes of the time of the Sassanians. They show the blossoms of Persian flowers, — the rose, the pink, the anemone, the narcissus, the crocus, and the violet, — with conventionalized pictures of lions, antelopes, or unicorns, phoenixes, dragons, in which a certain symbolism is concealed.

The position of Ctesiphon is known at the present day by the palace built by Chosroes, or, according to other reports, by his grandson. The ruins are called the Tak Kesra ('arch of Chosroes') (Fig. 79). The Tak is only a portion of the 'White Castle,' and consists of a hall 82 feet wide, 150 feet deep, and 100 feet high, the vault forming an elliptical arch. The wall of the arch is twenty-three feet thick. The interior of the hall opens on both sides into the wings, the walls of which are eighteen feet thick at the base, and are decorated on the outside with arcades. The arrangement recalls the palace of Hatra, yet it lacks nice taste. The entire façade is 284 feet long, and revetted with marble. In the centre of the arch was a metal ring, which was removed only in 1812. Fastened to it by a chain was the golden crown, which was so heavy that to wear it caused headache; and therefore the king, when he gave an audience, stepped under it. A gold coin shows the front view of the king, — a variation from the ordinary style (Fig. 80).



Fig. 80. — Gold coin of Chosroes Nushirvan. (After Bartholomäi-Dorn.)

Chosroes's endeavors were directed to the glory and welfare of his land, and his strict uprightness was acknowledged both by orientals and Christians. He was the ruler of a people whose spiritual guides were extremely intolerant, and yet he gave the example of an enlightened man raised above ordinary religious narrowness. At the end of the fifth century the university at Edessa was broken up by religious dissensions, and was closed by the emperor Zeno. The banished scholars took refuge in the Persian kingdom, were received by the Sassanians, and helped to found the schools of Nisibis and Gund-i-Shapur, where Greek learning was taught. The works of the Grecian philosophers, mathematicians, and astronomers were

translated into Pahlavi. Chosroes gathered around him the Byzantine philosophers Damascius, Simplicius, and others; Uranius, an admirer of Aristotle, disputed with the Magians at the royal table. The predilection for the fruit of Grecian thought still existed in the time of the Califs, so that the preservation of Hellenic civilization, which was destined to free Europe from the night of barbarism, is due, in the last analysis, to the kings of Persia. This activity was also favorable for the cultivation of the native language and literature; the time of Chosroes is consequently regarded as the golden age of Pahlavi literature. Comparatively little of it, however, has come down to us; what we have consists, for the most part, of religious and ethico-juridical works, but there are many references to a rich historical, epic, and scientific literature. A great part of the treasures of European fiction can be traced back to Indian books, which, through the medium of translations into the Pahlavi, came into Arabic and the languages of the West. Chosroes devoted special attention to the preservation of historical tradition. He had the annals of the ancient kings collected, and also provided for a similarly official record of Persian history. The latter is entitled "The Book of Kings" (Khudai-Namak), and contains the early mythical history, as it appears in the books of Zoroaster; references to the most ancient fortunes of the Iranian tribes, during their residence in the northern mountains; to the gradual growth of civilization by the knowledge of metallurgy, the practice of stone masonry, and the art of writing; to the worship of the gods before the time of Zoroaster, and to the subjection by the Syrians, and the delivery from it. The various periods are summed up in the stories of the ancient rulers, who at first reigned in the mountains south of the Caspian Sea, and finally in Media, where the tradition of them still clings about certain localities. The defence of the northeastern boundary of Iran against the hostile tribes of the steppes along the Oxus soon changed the Aryan settlements in Bactria, Margiana, Parthia or Nisaya, and Sogdiana into veritable kingdoms. According to the legend, Zarathushtra emigrated from Media to Bactria, having at first found no appreciation in his native country; he won over the Bactrian king Vishtaspa and his wise vizier Jamaspa, the husband of Poruchista, Zarathushtra's daughter. In friendly rela-

tionship with the Bactrian kings, apparently conquered by Cyrus, stand the monarchs of Sacastene, or Sistan, the domain of the Drangae, the Sacae, and the Arachotae, the heroes Sam, Zal, and Rustam, or Rodhastam. The Book of the Kings transfers the peculiarities and the characters of the Achaemenian epoch into that age of the half-mythical heroes of Eastern Iran, already beginning to be tinged by the views of the priests. As the royal annals of the Achaemenians and Parthians had mostly perished in the storms of the past, there were very meagre allusions in it to the greatest period of Persian history. The story of Alexander is given much as it appears in the Alexander romance of Europe in the Middle Ages. After a short mention of the Parthians, a complete and, on the whole, trustworthy history of the Sassanians is given, although it is composed in the interest of the nobles and of the Magians. Under Yezdigerd the work was brought down until the time of Chosroes II. (526); according to Firdusi, by the care of a Dihkan, or country gentleman. The Arab Saad found a copy of the work among the captured treasures belonging to Yezdigerd, and sent it to the Califs. In the middle of the eighth century a copy was in the possession of Abdallah, the son of Mokaffa, a Persian who went over to Islamism. He translated it into Arabic. We have only fragments of this work in the writings of the Arabian Ibn Kotaiba (who died in 889), and of the Alexandrian Patriarch Eutychius, whose history of the world and of the church is brought down to 940. The Khudai-Namak is taken as the source of information by the later historians, as Tabari, who lived about 900 A.D., and wrote a chronicle of the Sassanians. Abu Mansūr of Tūs translated the Pahlavi original into the later Persian; and this translation was the basis of the great epic of Firdusi (939–1020), which was finished in 1010. The Chronicle of Tabari, however, was derived from the Ibn Mokaffa's Arabian work. Thus in these two compilations we have two independent versions of the ancient Book of Kings. Other historical works in Pahlavi are extant, or are known only by name.

Hormizdas IV. (578–590), the son of Chosroes and a Turkish princess, immediately fell out with Byzantium, but had to pay dearly for it. A revolt followed of the viceroy of Rai, Bahram Chobin, of the Arsacid family of Mihran, who had been successful in his battle

against the Turks, and was beloved by the soldiers. He was insulted by the king; and taking advantage of the fact that Hormizdas had trifled away the favor of the nobles and the priesthood by relying upon the people and executing judgment at the expense of the privileged classes, he caused himself to be proclaimed king, and marched against Ctesiphon. Chosroes, Hormizdas's son, likewise arose in opposition to his father; and the angry nobility hastened the fall of the king, who was arrested in his palace, deprived of his eyesight, and thrown into prison, where afterwards he was suffocated without his son raising his finger to prevent it. Bahram's rebellion took its course. Chosroes Parviz (590–628) asked aid of the Emperor Maurice. The latter espoused the king's side, so that the grandees were compelled to abandon Bahram, who was defeated by the Romans, escaped to Balkh, or Bactra, and seems to have there been assassinated at Chosroes's instigation. Although Chosroes was indebted to the Romans for the preservation of his throne, yet he took occasion, upon the assassination of the Emperor Maurice by Phocas in 605, to declare war upon them, in order to recover western Mesopotamia, long abandoned to the Romans. This terrible war was the final exhibition of Persian power. It resulted in the king's overthrow, and brought the kingdom with gigantic strides toward its final dissolution.

In the first year of the war the debilitated Roman power was annihilated in Mesopotamia. Dara (southeast of Mardin) and Edessa were captured, and all the prisoners were massacred. In Armenia Satala, Erzerum, and Caesarea fell in 609. The Persian Saïs (Shahin, 'falcon') besieged Chalcedon; but as he was bribed by the Emperor Heraclius to make overtures of peace, he was executed by Chosroes. Another general, named Shahrbarz, or Ramiozan, marched into Syria, and in 614 captured Jerusalem, where the Persians destroyed a portion of the fortifications, and carried off the holy cross to Persia, to the horror of the Christians. It was afterwards returned to the emperor by the Queen Buran. Egypt also, whose Coptic princes, through a treaty with Justinian, had as early as 562 been obliged to acknowledge Nushirvan as their suzerain, but who had been transferred to Rome by Parviz, was again reconquered, and remained ten years in the power of the Persians, so that

only twelve years elapsed between the Persian sway and the entrance of Omar, the Arab calif, into Alexandria. This conquest, though it brought little profit to Persia, was invaluable on account of the knowledge of the Pahlavi language which it afterwards afforded, a priceless collection of antiquities having been discovered a few years since in Fayum, consisting of a quantity of works of art, besides a number of papyrus manuscripts in the Aramaic, Coptic, Greek, and Pahlavi languages. The Pahlavi manuscripts, which number nearly one hundred, date from the time of the occupation of the Persians just mentioned; the Aramaic go back as far as the time of Cambyses: the Aramaic was the commercial language of Egypt.

Fortune at last deserted Persia. Heraclius, the Byzantine emperor, marched with a well-disciplined army against Shahrbarz, and compelled him to retreat, after a desperate resistance; Thebarma, modern Urumiah, was destroyed, and Parviz was put to flight; Persian armies were defeated also in other places. Parviz fled to Veh-Ardashir, near Ctesiphon, where he was taken ill; at the same time he rejected Heraclius's overtures of peace. Unfortunately just at this time great freshets occurred on both the Euphrates and the Tigris, a most unusual event in ancient times. The dykes were destroyed by the water, valuable tracts of land were laid waste, and the inhabitants had to flee for their lives. The sluices were completely ruined, and the injuries done were never repaired; thus the swamps or marshes below Wasit came into existence, where only occasionally localities situated on higher ground rise above the waste.

Parviz's oldest son was Kobad II. (Shiroyeh); but he had by Sirē, or Shirin, a Christian woman of Susiana, another son, Merdanshah, to whom he promised the succession. The oldest, assisted by the nobility, of course raised an insurrection, killed his brother, and sentenced his father to death by starvation. Parviz was put out of his torture, however, after five days (February, 628). The fratricide and parricide died, however, at the end of a few months, some say by poison, others by the plague which at that time is reported to have carried off a third part of the inhabitants of Irak. Before he died he gave up Mesopotamia to Byzantium. After the child Ardashir

was put out of the way by Shahrbarz in 629, the crown was bestowed upon Buran, Chosroes's daughter, who reigned sixteen months, during which time the Arabs began to subjugate Asia. She was followed by her sister, Azarmidokht; and various princes were placed upon the tottering throne during the course of a year, until the accession of Yezdigerd III. (Fig. 81), the last of the Sassanians, on the sixteenth of June, 632, the day that the Parsis take as the commencement of their era. "It was the will of God," says Tabari, "that the dominion should be taken from the Persians and that Islam should be spread abroad; for this reason did God allow them to fall into this confusion." Tremendous floods, a fearful mortality, the downfall of a powerful dynasty, facilitated the conquest for the Arabs, who, hungering for slaughter, hastened into battle full of zeal for the religion of Mohammed. We are, however, filled with admiration at the activity of the Persians, who constantly brought new armies into the field, and raised up new heroes for battle, who, fighting and perishing for a hopeless cause, still arouse our sympathy.



Fig. 81. — Silver drachma of Yezdigerd III. (After Bartholomäi-Dorn.)

The Arabs came up from the Arabian desert by way of Hirah, which was the first to pay tribute to Khalid, the general of the calif, Abu-Bekr. Obollah, lying between Basra and Cufa, was defended by Hormuz, who challenged Khalid to single combat. The Arabian tripped up the Persian, and stabbed him with his dagger as he lay upon the ground. The battle of Obollah is called the 'day of chains,' because, according to the story, the Persians bound themselves together with chains in order that they might perish rather than flee. Next fell the towns where the Arabs in after times built Basrah; at Olles, or Vologesia, in the vicinity of the present Kefil, the Arabs again were victorious, and massacred the Persian prisoners at the Euphrates canal, which has since borne the name of the 'stream of blood.' Then Ambar, the great magazine of the Persians, was taken, together with a number of other strongholds. The Arabians invariably massacred the prisoners and fugitives. A battle in the reign of Buran cost the Arabs the lives of seven of their gen-

erals, one of whom was caught by Parviz's elephant, and crushed under his feet. A marauding expedition in 634 A.D. brought Bagdad into the power of the Arabs, together with the treasures of all its merchants, amounting to a thousand camel-loads. Then in March, 635, after a few favorable turns of fortune for the Persians, followed the great battle at Cadesia, the ruins of which are situated southwest of Cufa, where for three days the struggle between cavalry, camel-riders, and elephants raged unceasingly. Only on the third day did the Persian line of battle begin to yield; the general Rustam fell, and his head was raised aloft on the point of an Arabian's lance. The Arabian general, Saad-ibn-Abi-Wakkas, pursued the Persians as far as Veh-Ardashir (Seleucia), where he remained until the harvest had twice been reaped. He then crossed the Tigris and destroyed Ctesiphon; the booty in the White Castle was beyond valuation. In the same year the Arabians gained a great battle at Bahandif, between Badaraya and Wasit; then followed six months of fighting in the plain of Jalula on the Diyala; the king escaped from his strong castle at Holwan (now Kalah-i-Yezdigerd), and took refuge in Rai. Then Tekrit on the Tigris, and a number of cities on the foothills of the Zagros mountains, came into the hands of the Moslems. In the year 639 began the conquest of Susiana. Hormuzan lost a battle at Ahwaz; after which Shuster was besieged a half-year and taken by treason, and Hormuzan made prisoner and carried to Medina. Yezdigerd collected fresh forces; but once again the Persians were defeated at Nehavend in Media, where two-thirds of their army is said to have perished. Persis was defended by the viceroy Shahrak; at Tawadj (the ancient Taoce, on the Granis, or Ab-i-Khisht) he met the Arabians with an army; but they, by sending separate divisions against the cities, succeeded in withdrawing portions of this force, which was thus conquered successively in different places. Soon all Iran was overrun by the hordes of Moslems. Several regions, however, remained free for a number of centuries; as, for instance, Tabaristan under the Ispehbeds, whose coins, with Pahlavi inscriptions, have come down to us; the Baluchis in Mekran and Kohistan, or Kelat, also remained independent. Armenia was conquered; but Islamism was unable to gain a foothold there, and later it became an independent kingdom again. The province

of Kirman, after a few ineffectual efforts, was conquered by the Arabs from the Persian Gulf; the city of Shirgan was twice stormed. Yezdigerd, after his flight, took refuge in Merv. Even his last attempt to preserve his authority by the assistance of the Turks also failed. Far better for his glory would it have been if he had fallen fighting at the head of his soldiers; for his death, in the summer of 651, quickly followed his flight. His palace was surrounded; but he escaped by night to the mill of Zark, on the Razik. Here his gold-embroidered raiment roused the greed of the miller, who killed the luckless king in his sleep.